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ART. I.—ATTIC TRAGEDY AND THE MODERN THEATER.

DRAMATIC literature has formed a large and interesting part of the republic of letters for more than two thousand years. Dramatic show, or the theater, for a still longer period has held the rank and influence of a popular and well patronized institution; and this, too, in the face of a learned, moral, and uncompromising opposition lasting from Plato to the Puritans, and not yet ended. A literature is the expression of a nation's life; of its genius, knowledge, taste, and skill; is the work of individuals, but the common possession of all. Moreover, each form of literature is a typical manifestation of some power, want, or aspiration in the soul. The mere love of knowledge will preserve for us the dry chronicle, the dryer genealogy, and the national myths; but blend with this the love of heroism and beauty, and then will the skeleton chronicles and dim myths be transfigured into a lively and picturesque epic. So, too, ideals, without a pattern of which nothing in man's world has been made, fed from their mystic springs of joy and sadness, cannot always sing their inner song to the heart that owns them, but must utter them; and lyric poetry is at once their expression and satisfaction. And so, too, art is a symbol of a profound want in human nature, underlying and creating it. But there is also a human eclectic faculty; and the Greeks, God's ancient people, chosen to preach the gospel of the beautiful to their own and to all ages, were notably eclectic in matters pertaining to the manly and the beautiful, no less in literature than in art. Homer's epic is immortal, and the Greek lyrics are among the finest we have; yet from these the Greek wrought out the grander form of dramatic poetry. The epic is historical, is an echo, a memory, a shadow of the past; the lyric is emotional, a mood of

mind, a song; the drama, of which tragedy is the noblest form, is both these and more. "The epic is a corpse galvanized; the lyric is a dream, but tragedy is life." Tragedy on its poetic side is the substantial marriage of the epic and the lyric, graced by the subservience of minor species of poetry; in its subject-matter it is an exhibition of the eternal laws of truth and justice applied to individuals, to society, and to states. It is activity and energy, embellished by dignity, grace, and pathos. And naturally, from the relation of the dramatic to other forms of literature, many of the best poets have been dramatists, and among its votaries are some of the finest intellects of the race.

On the other hand, theatrical or dramatic exhibitions, of some kind, are next to the pleasures of the chase in their universality and antiquity. From the combined use which they make of poetry, music, painting, scenic decorations, elocution, and action, they are capable of doing great good in the way of rational amusement and mental culture; but are doing immense mischief by a prostitution of their high functions to a pandering to a vulgar taste and false notions, and to the opening up of facile avenues whereby fleshly lusts creep into our social life and corrupt it. Yet, with all its vices, essential and accidental, the theater still forms a marked feature of the social organization of our large cities. Towns and villages, too, show the tenacious hold the stage has upon the popular feeling, by sending crowds to witness the bizarre theatricals of some strolling company. To measure the demerit of modern dramatic performances, we have selected, as a standard of comparison, Attic tragedy of the age of Pericles.

Of dramatic literature the tragic is the highest form. The former shows us both the earnest and the sportive, the serious and the comic sides of human life, the latter the earnest and the serious only: the one covers the broadest field; the other deals in matters of the weightiest moment. And Attic tragedy, as it was in the splendid days of the literary, commercial, and political supremacy of Athens, combined a moral aim and a religious spirit with great literary excellences. It was remarkable for its brief duration and local limit: three names, one century, and the city of Athens, comprehended its excellence and earned its lasting fame. The history of Greek literature reaches back three thousand years. Of these thirty centuries, the fifth B. C. sufficed for the full birth, maturity, and degeneracy of tragedy in its essential characteristics of beauty, dignity, and ideal truth. To understand Greek tragedy, there is no need of inquiry into the progressive stages of its historic development from the rude and hilarious ceremonies in honor of Bacchus; for these are no essential part of it. When Æschylus appeared,

Bacchus and his troop of satyrs had been dismissed from the stage; his altar, the thymele, converted into a chorus stand; the choral odes were no longer Bacchic hymns, but the sentiments of an idealized spectator, the expression of the thoughts and feelings suggested by the action of the play. The plots were not of the fabulous fortunes and symbolic life and death of Dionysus, but of the mythic, heroic, and historical events in Grecian history. We may also dismiss the dithyrambs, the faces daubed with wine-lees, the Thespian cart and monologues; for however full of historic value and antiquarian interest these may be, yet Greek tragedy must be studied in *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. They were the master tragedians. Although in and out of their own times, at Athens and elsewhere, good tragedies were written, and to some of which judges assigned the tragic prize over the heads of these princes of tragedy themselves, still the public voice of Athens, and the concurring judgment of successive ages, have assigned to these three seats on the tragic throne. A peerless trio in their day, and an imitated but almost inimitable model for after times, and by none nearer approached than by *Schiller* in his latest plays.

Considering the peculiar fascination of the drama and the universality of mimic representations, it is a matter of surprise that cultivated nations have been without it. The Semitic have no drama. The Jew has no theater; and this, too, with a history full of dramatic incidents, as the *Exodus*, *Samson's* exploits, the civil wars of the houses of *David* and *Saul*; in fact, Jewish history is tragedy paraphrased. It has the unities of time, action, and place, and is the vindication of the laws of truth and justice in the struggles, crimes, passion, and sufferings of men. The Bible contains no drama. The nearest to it is the Book of *Job*; but that is more epic than dramatic. *Arabians*, *Egyptians*, and *Persians* were rich in literary compositions, but they lacked the dramatic. The *Chaldeans* were learned, but they knew nothing of it. It is the glory and the high poetic achievement of the Indo-Caucasian race; and tragedy in its truest and most graceful expression, was the product of the Greek mind.

We profess to be no blind admirers of whatever pertains to a classic antiquity. Granting that Greek literature is a treasury of poetry, science, art, eloquence, and heroism; and that the Greek himself was a model of the true scholarly self-abandonment to a literary vocation, whereby a high success is alone attainable, nevertheless, for the American student of to-day, a knowledge of German literature in the original, with all its vices, theologic and philosophic, is better than a knowledge of the Greek; a broader scholar-

ship and a higher humanity in it, arising from the fact that Christianity has exerted so large an influence in modern civilization, and has thus given the modern a stand-point of thought and feeling far beyond that of the most favored Greek or Roman. This is a general statement, for in the special case of Greek tragedy, as exemplified in the extant plays of the three masters, there must be conceded a dignity, harmony, pathos, unity of plot, precision, and naturalness, and artistic merit of stage decorations and arrangements, which place it beyond the mere life-like and imitative, and elevate it to the standard of a moral ideal, "whereby are brought into living exhibition the deeply grounded ideas of eternal right, of whose laws, fixed and immutable as nature herself, even the gods are made ministers."* The popular mythology of the Greeks was rich in tragic materials, especially the two ancient houses of the Labdacidæ and Pelopidæ. The mythic element, however, was not essential to tragedy, as the *Persæ*, a purely historical play, witnesses. Current politics and history, too, gave tone and color to both tragedy and comedy.

We now propose briefly to present some of the leading excellences of this form of mental activity, which so delighted an Athenian audience that they would sit, with a few intermissions, an entire day, witnessing, with a critical delight, plays sustained throughout at a high level of poetic beauty and didactic morality. On the reader of Greek tragedy no impression derived therefrom is more distinct than the *love of the beautiful and of nature*.

The Greeks were the most felicitous of mortals. Lively, versatile, imaginative, and enthusiastic, they loved and worshiped the beautiful. Their inner life seemed as jocund as a June morning, and a part of the sweet, round day. They had and owned a delightful climate, picturesque scenery, the bluest skies, and splendid sunrises and sunsets. No wonder, then, they loved out-door life. They studied, sacrificed, played, prayed, and dramatized in the open air. They loved this wholesome nature, and from the grand fullness of their sensuous life, peopled earth, air, and sea, with gods, and all their gods were comely beings. They could not tolerate, without some relief, a bloated Bacchus, and hence the legend that in his youth Bacchus was a beautiful boy. Pluto, the infernal god, was noble-looking and had splendid eyes. No people have ever had more right to the name, Children of the Sun. The old and young, man and maid, when dying, leave life with fond regrets at parting with the sun and his bright beams as with a companion tenderly loved. Hades is dreaded because it is sunless. Ajax bids his final adieu to the day and the sun, his native land, the fountains,

* Jacobs, *Leben u. Kunst des Alterth.*, ii, 307.

rivers, and plains of Troy. Antigone bewails her loss of the pleasant light of day, as well as of the social joys of life. Iphigenia sums up all her entreaties to her father for life in one :

"To view the light of life,
To mortals is most sweet; in death there is
Nor light nor joy; and crazed is he who seeks
To die; for life, though full of ills, has more
Of good than death."

They loved life in its pleasantness, and ingenuously said so. Yet they could die with a calm hardihood when duty demanded it. There was but little of that most miserable ennui, bravado, affected stoicism, and practice of suicide, which so strongly marked the debauched and cruel civilization of the Romans, even before the time of the empire. In concord with this feeling, the Greek removed scenes of great violence and bloodshed from the stage. He had not the hardness of heart and the brutal delight of the Roman in gladiatorial scenes of blood, nor the modern mania for the deformed and the horrible. The English, unlike the Greek, associate the idea of the repulsive and the loathsome with the conception of death. The difference between the Greek tragedians and Shakspeare in this respect is striking, and marks a morbid taste of the English mind in damaging contrast with the more healthful play of Greek thought and feeling. We give a few instances out of many :

"Ay, but to die and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction and to rot."—*M. M.*, iii, 1.

"O Death,
And I will kiss thy detestable bones;
And put my eyeballs in thy vaulty brows;
And ring these fingers with thy household worms;
And stop this gap of breath with fulsome dust,
And be a carrion monster like thyself."—*K. J.*, iii, 4.

So, too, Juliet seems to forget her Romeo in the foul fascination of the "horrible conceit of death:"

"——— a vault, an ancient receptacle,
Where for these many hundred years the bones
Of all my buried ancestors are packed;
Where bloody Tybalt, yet but green in earth,
Lies festering in his shroud."

And

"——— here, here will I remain
With worms that are thy chambermaids."—*Rom. and Jul.*

As deep a grief and a truer pathos are expressed by Admetus for his dead wife :

"For these will I enjoin to lay me in
The same grave, side by side with thee."*

And when Hæmon kills himself by the side of his betrothed in the gloomy cave, the poet does not dwell on the foul and disgusting accidents of death and decay, and the "lugubrious vaults," but, true to the loveliness of Greek thought and speech, says :

"And dead beside the dead, the hapless youth
Doth lie, and celebrates his nuptial rites
Within the house of Pluto."†

And the beautiful choral lyric by Euripides is in contrast :

"We will not look on her burial sod,
As the cell of sepulchral sleep,
It shall be as the shrine of a radiant god,
And the pilgrims shall visit that bless'd abode
To worship and not to weep."‡

The Greeks disliked the exaggerated, and the deformed, and the exceptional, and hence in sculpture, poetry, and painting, avoided the extremes of passion and grief, inasmuch as such extremes border on contortion, and contortion is allied to deformity. Timanthes, the painter, veiled the head of Agamemnon to hide his face disfigured by excessive grief for the sacrifice of his daughter. The artist has sculptured Niobe when she has one child left, and has not yet touched the lowest deep of grief; and her children, the dead and the dying, faithfully express suffering and terror without a violation of the spirit of the beautiful. Girardin remarks that the ancients believed that when passion becomes excessive the man disappears, and that this is the profound idea lying back of the metamorphoses of Ovid, a prodigy or a miracle being preferred to an exaggeration or disfigurement. They held to a primal rule of art that the passion must be true, and that is true which appeals to the common consciousness. All else is exceptional. Our sympathy is excited by the common or universal, our wonder by the exceptional; and the exceptional in character and passion abounds in the modern drama, and is a characteristic of the light literature of the day. Hence

* ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γὰρ μ' ἐπισκήψω κέδροις
σοὶ τοῦσδε θείναι πλευρά τ' ἐκτεῖναι πέλας
πλευροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς.—*Alces.*, 365.

† κείται δὲ νεκρὸς περὶ νεκρῷ, τὰ νυμφικὰ
τέλη λαχὼν δειλαῖος εἶν' Ἀιδὸν δόμοις.—*Antig.*, 1240.

‡ μὴδὲ νεκρῶν ὡς φθιμένων χῶμα νομίζεσθαι
τύμβος σᾶς ἀλόχου, θεοῖσι δ' ὁμοίως
τιμᾶσθαι, σέβας ἐμπόρων καὶ τις δοχμῶν
κείμενον ἐμβαίνων τὸδ' ἔρχει.—*Alc.*, 995.

the Quilps, the Uriah Heaps, Karl Von Moors, and Manfreds, knaves with generous aspirations and harlots with pure affections. Such violations of the probabilities of life degrade the dramatic art, and make it teach falsely when it teaches thus. It is true Homer had his Thersites, a vulgar, ugly, scurrilous fellow. The disease of Philoctetes was as disgusting as his cries were ill-omened and disagreeable. Achilles, hearing of the death of his friend Patroclus, gave way to a foolish extravagance of grief. All these, however, simply affirm that among the Greeks there were imperfect characters, and that writers knew the rhetoric and dramatic value of an exaggerated detail, a sharp salient feature, an idiosyncrasy, the eccentric, the ugly, and the deformed, as a contrast to and a better defining of the symmetrical and the beautiful; but were too faithful to the noble ideals of dramatic art to convert these into characteristics.

In the religious belief of the Greeks are found traces of a vast and terrible fate, an inexorable destiny that stood behind the throne of Jove himself, and made the gods the ministers of its own decrees, and which often involved persons in disasters and ruin without fault of their own. But it is an error to make this solemn and awful article of the more ancient popular creed the corner-stone of Greek tragedy. Were it so, then the *Œdipus Tyrannus* would be the "most perfect type of a tragic hero," and the *Œdipus Coloneus* would not have been written. Moreover, to an enlightened understanding, the powers above would then appear as an unjust caprice, and to the unfortunate as a colossal malignancy weaving the web of human destiny, while the dramatic action would allow of no development of character. But in tragedy this terrible and shadowy destiny (*μοῖρα*) was softened down into a Nemesis, the goddess of retribution, who sometimes inflicted woes upon individuals and families in expiation of some primal or ancestral crime, and is either subordinate to the will of the gods or in conformity with the abiding principles of justice. Hence the motive controlling the development of a play was not simply supernatural or external to man, but internal and human also, that is, arising out of the passions, vices, crimes, or sufferings of the tragic hero himself. This secures the sanction of man's consciousness and sympathy for the impressive lessons of the stage.

Instruction as well as entertainment was the aim of tragedy. It taught that there are rights which states and statesmen can disregard only at the peril of their own shame and ruin; and that for the violation of the just and sacred law of giving to each man his due, the wrath of the gods falls upon the violators. Tragedy received its

highest form in Sophocles. And were Sophocles now living, he would disown the modern claim of equal rights and equal privileges for Satan against Messiah in politics, commerce, and literature, the threefold form of man's activity. He would be no advocate that mountain ranges, climate, or the laws of commerce are final in questions touching human rights and wrongs; nor would his seat have been among the scoffers at a higher law. Hear him in a passage that would do honor to the head and heart of a Christian scholar:

"I had no thought that you, a mortal man,
Could make your laws annul the laws of God
That are unwritten and immutable,
Eternal, not like those of yesterday,
But made ere time began."⁸

In the *Antigone* is illustrated the conflict between the rights of humanity and the mandate of a king who has disregarded some of the noblest instincts of our nature. Creon ungenerously, rashly, and irreligiously forbids the burial of Polynices, ordering his body to be given a prey to birds and dogs; Antigone, the sister of Polynices, moved by love and piety, defies the royal edict and performs the sacred burial rites for the dead. Creon was neither a demagogue nor a political villain, a good king rather; yet he had the most thorough conceit of the rights of kings: men were made for kings. "In all things, small and great, just and unjust, a ruler must be obeyed," was his Heaven-braving and conscience-defying maxim. He was warned that his decree was under bonds to justice and piety, not they to it; yet he slighted these and fell beneath the successive and terrible strokes of the Divine vengeance. The seer Tiresias warns him, and the chorus points the warning, and then his conscience smites him; Antigone ends her own life and he loses a betrothed daughter-in-law; Hæmon, his son, dies in grief for Antigone, and remorse for unfilial conduct provoked by the insane action of his father; Eurydice, his wife, stabs herself in the violence of her grief for the loss of these two. And then the contrite confession of the broken-hearted old king is, that there are laws higher than human codes or the will of kings, and that these will vindicate themselves by unspeakable woes upon those who transgress them.

⁸ οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσούτον φόβον τὰ σὺ
κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἀγραπτά κἀσφαλὴ θεῶν
νόμιμα δύνασθαι θητὸν ἐνθ' ἐπεδραμεῖν,
οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθής, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ποτε
ζῇ ταῦτα.—*Antig.*, 453.

The same lofty teaching in regard to the majesty of justice, and the sureness of retribution, pervades tragedy.

"A vain defense is wealth's proud tower
When man in insolence of power,
Justice, thy laws disdains to heed."^o

Of the Greeks Plato remarks, that even those who have the least share of wisdom, always invoke the Deity before undertaking anything small or great. This remark introduces us to the consideration of the *moral* and *religious* nature of Greek tragic poetry.

From time immemorial ethic wisdom has found an expression in poetry. The Attic Greek was both poetic and religious, and these two characteristics he derived from his double line of descent. He belonged to the best branch of one of the finest stocks the race has ever had, the Attic branch of the Pelasgic stock. He surpassed the other Greeks in æsthetic culture and intellectual attainments. The Pelasgic predominated over the Hellenic or Doric. To the former he owed his lively imagination, versatility, sprightly enthusiasm, liberal spirit, and sportive gracefulness; to the other his lofty earnestness, staidness, aristocratic, conservative, and ethical tendencies. In Sophocles, one of the rare few that mark the flowering of an age's civilization, the choral odes attest the ethic wisdom and religious spirit of the Dorian, while the dialogue attests the graceful vigor of the Pelasgian. These choral odes, so justly famous for their lyric sweetness and power, though of Dorian origin and transmission, were brought to their perfection by Attic dramatists only. The Greek was religious also. The term *sacred* poetry designates the Greek literature prior to the Trojan war. The earliest poems were hymns; the proverbial philosophy of the seven sages aimed at the moral culture of the people. The theogony of Hesiod was a theological text-book for the philosophers of almost every school, and a thousand years after Hesiod, Paul remarked the same religious feeling on Mars Hill. The early and almost unbounded confidence in seers and oracles as revelators of the Divine will, attests a genuine religious spirit. It must be confessed, however, that among the Greeks, as among other Gentile nations, there was but little practical connection between morality and religion, inasmuch as a great licentiousness of manners abounded while the national faith was doctrinally almost intact. The popular religion had its

^o Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἑπαλξίς
πλούτου πρὸς κέρων ἀνδρὶ
λακτίσταντι μέγαν δίκας
βωυόν, εἰς ἀφάνειαν.—*Agam.*, 360.

power, not so much in the attractions of moral goodness, as in the repulsiveness of evil and punishment; the worship was one of fear rather than love. In tragedy, particularly in Æschylus and Sophocles, there is a purer morality; not equal to the Christian, but still much in advance of Athenian private morals. Submission to the Divine will is always inculcated, not only as a matter of necessity, but as a choice of the best.

"Whatever the gods decree as good
With patience we must bear."*

And

"Tis God that shapes man's destiny,
And shapes it as he wills."†

The doctrine of expedience and of compromise with sin, is repudiated with an earnestness worthy of the Scotch Covenanters:

"The truth is always best."‡

"Through fear of man I'll not transgress the laws
Of heaven and make the gods my foes."§

Morality and virtue are not mere expediences, but expressions of the eternal right whose origin is in the unchangeable nature of God. In a passage which reminds one of some of the Psalmist's sublime declarations of God's sovereign laws, and one of the noblest in heathen ancient poetry:

εἰ μοι ξυνείη φέροντι μοῖρα τὰν εὐσεπτον ἀγνείαν λόγων
ἔργων τε πάντων, ὧν νόμοι πρόκεινται
ὑψίποδες, οὐρανίαν
δι' αἰθέρα τεκνωθέντες, ὧν Ὀλυμπος
πατὴρ μόνος, οὐδὲ νιν
θνατὰ φύσις ἀνέρων
ἔτικτεν, οὐδὲ μήποτε λάθα κατακοιμάσθ.
μέγας ἐν τούτοις θεός, οὐδὲ γηράσκει.—*Ædip. Tyr.*, 864.

Which, in default of a fit poetic translation, has been rendered in prose, which is yet but an imperfect rendering of the sense of the splendid original: "O for a spotless pureness of word and deed, in concord with those sublime laws of right which are heaven born and own God their author; which mortal man never devised, nor will

* τὸ φέρον ἐκ θεοῦ καλῶς
μηδὲν ἄγαν φλέγεσθον.—*Ædip.*, *Col.*, 1693.

† τέλος ἔχει δαίμων βροτοῖσι,
τέλος, ὅπα θέλει.—*Orest.*, 1560.

‡ . . . ἐρθρὸν ἀλήθει ἀεὶ.—*Antig.*, 1195.

§ τούτων ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐμελλον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενὸς
φρόνημα δέσας, ἐν θεοῖσι τὴν δίκην
δῶσειν.—*Antig.*, 458.

time destroy; for in them is the great God, and he knows neither age nor change." In Euripides there are traces of a growing religious skepticism and of a corresponding licentiousness of manners; yet even he attests the sympathy of the Greek mind for the doctrine of an overruling Providence. In view of the misfortunes of the contemptible Admetus, and the death of the estimable Alcestis, the chorus speaks like a Christian:

"To the gods let us pray, for great is their power to save."*

Citations on this and the previous subjects might be multiplied to an indefinite extent illustrative of the teachings of Greek tragedy. And however defective it may be in any of these respects, owing to radical vices in Greek theology and ethical notions, still we must commend the spirit that animates it. Earnestly and beautifully does it teach reverence for the gods, human authority, oaths, marriage vows, and justice; and inculcates patience in sufferings, patriotism, hospitality, filial affection; and at the same time sets forth the wrath of the gods against the violators of these. Such are the moral principles involved in it which led Milton to declare that "tragedy, as it was anciently composed, hath ever been held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems."

The representation of a tragedy at Athens was a magnificent national affair. The ideal conception of the play, its religious spirit, poetic grace, and ethic wisdom, gave it a high humanitarian interest; while the colossal scale of its exhibition, the stage and other decorations lavish of the Grecian wealth of architecture, sculpture, and painting; the actors clad in their splendid vestments, the chorus marching with rhythmic step and solemn pomp to the melody of music, and beyond this and beneath the open sky the vast amphitheater with its seated thousands, including poets, philosophers, archons, senators, generals, good citizens, and virtuous women; all these things made the representation of a tragic play an occasion to be remembered and valued. In comparison with this, the modern theater, with all its ambitious splendor of gas-light, upholstery, gilded and carved work, suffers sadly, and suffers still more upon a comparison of morality and good taste. The Greek went to his theater for instruction. The Jew received moral instruction from the mouth of the prophets and priests; the Christian is taught by the preaching and the study of the Bible; and for both these religion has thus carefully provided religious instruction. But for the Greek no such special provision was made; hence the instructional element in their poetry, and the active support given by the wise and good

* θεοῖσιν εὐχόμεσθα· θεῶν δόναμις μέγιστη.—*Alcest.*, 219.

to tragedy, wherein, most of all, this deficiency was supplied. The theater was to the Greek as a temple. A divine sacrifice was the opening ceremony, and his religious belief was exemplified in the plot of the play. Tragic representations were to him a triple school of art, morals, and piety. Even Attic comedy had an element of instruction in it that went far to atone for its corruption and skepticism. The personal satire of the old comedy, with its grotesque fantasies; the middle, with its philosophic and poetic parodies and its travesties of mythology; the life-like portraiture of the fashions and the follies in the new, had criticism, poetic gracefulness, and energy, and in part stood to the Athenian in the place of the modern newspaper, review, party journal, satires, Punch, and the comicalities of literature. There is here, however, in comedy, one of the saddest illustrations of the divorce between literary and scientific culture on the one hand, and pure morals on the other; for here the former was side by side with a great depravity of public and private manners, and neither blushed at the other's presence.

Genius, talent, and fit materials for tragedy are at hand to-day, but the tragic muse is dumb. The truth is, the theater exists for other purposes than dramatic representations. Its presentations are neither poetic, æsthetic, nor moral; but sensuous rather, and sensual, and catering to a depraved and morbid taste. Low comedies of low life, burlesques, farces, dancing-girls, shows of giants and dwarfs, the monstrous and the wonderful, form a large part of the theatrical attractions. Even Macbeth must be concluded with some farce steeped in laughter or spiced with scandal. The condemnation of the modern theater is that its sole aim is *amusement*. This it is that has converted a noble form of poetic literature into a means of defilement, and the stage into a by-word of shame. The office of instructor has gone over to the pulpit, press, and lecture-room, and left to the stage the function of the court fool.

Men need and will have recreation and amusement, and it is well occasionally to travel out of the dull, hardening, and mercenary routine of toil and care into the fairy regions of romance, into the world of sweet ideals, and so do reverence to the divine dreams of our youth. A genial humor, and hearty laughter, too, are wonderful moral restoratives. But the sanctities of religion and the restraints of morality must control the creations of the imagination and curb the sportive impulses of the passionate heart, else the love of pleasurable amusement will first occupy the whole soul and then corrupt the life. The reign of vice and folly is fully inaugurated when the Monotheism of Pleasure is enthroned. It will not do to say that the vices of the theater are incidental only, mere offshoots

which can be lopped off by easy pruning. The baser forms of vice will ever cluster about any institution whose whole aim and sole spirit is amusement. The obligations of morality sat but lightly on the Greek, and hence one reason of the short life of tragedy and the long and prosperous one of comedy. Tragedy at Athens compromised its high functions by ending its tetralogies with a satiric drama, rounding off its high teachings with merriment and a dash of buffoonery. Wit and a "prankish" mischief are not necessarily antagonistic to either good morals or religion. The comic muse might lash with keen satiric whip the flashy fashions and grosser vices of the times. Momus himself, the jolly god, might help laugh us out of our follies, and thus by the histrionic art assist us in learning the difficult lesson of being cheerful and wise. But amusement and sensuous pleasure form the central facts and idea of our popular dramatic entertainments. Comedy in the character of a clown is a chief dramatic power in this school of vice. The history of theatrical representations for nearly three thousand years establishes the fact of the immoral tendencies of the theater, when the amusement sought thereby is under the curb and guidance of no law higher than its own.

Besides the theater's environment of lechery and drunkenness, and their train of attendant vices, we object to the modern drama on account of its *untruthfulness*. Not that its presentations are not of facts in life and experience, but that it seizes upon the exceptional, the intense, and the monstrous, and attempts to exalt these to the dignity of normal modes of life and action, and thus begets and feeds a vitiated taste. It is, consciously or unconsciously, a bold and bad attempt to justify man as a depraved and unrefined being; it effaces the sharp lines of distinction between vice and virtue; puts on an equality of use the moral and the immoral, the healthful and the morbid, noble sentiments and slang phrases; and does not hesitate to select its heroes from the ranks of villains or low back alleys, and then make them radiant with pure sentiments, setting the finest feelings of the soul on a dark background of unblushing criminality. To illustrate: Manfred, the fierce and gloomy misanthropist, is not only exceptional in character, but is too full of sneers and curses, and the defilement arising from the incestuous origin of his sufferings, to be safely brought before the imagination. It certainly is opposed to the Aristotelian aim of tragedy, the purification of the passions by terror and pity. Manfred's madness is intensely morbid and depressing. He suffers from an unsettling of the reason, as well as from remorse, and, like Karl Von Moor, belongs to the intense school of literature. The play is an exaggera-

tion and is unveracious. It stirs the feelings, but leaves an impression false to the moral and true ideal of human life. More modern plays written for the stage are too well known to require either description or denunciation.

But what of the *regeneration* of the drama? It is idle to talk of the theater as having outlived its time. Dramatic poetry has a peculiar charm for the cultivated mind. The popular instincts of the races that have adopted it will ever demand its pleasures. Neither can we stigmatize either the drama or dramatists as enemies *per se* of morality and religion. We do, however, earnestly condemn the prostitution of the high humanitarian functions of both these to their present low spirit, aim, and method. Poetry, music, painting, elocution, and history are ennobling in themselves, and the combination of these into an agreeable form of literary composition cannot be essentially pernicious. Besides, the theoretic aim of the drama is the punishment of the wicked and the triumph and reward of virtue. A pure, healthful drama would be an efficient aid of virtue and knowledge, a charm and nourishment for the best minds and purest hearts. The stage, addressing the eye by its shows and action, the ear by its music, the heart and understanding by the graces of poetry and sound sentiments, might do much for the elevation of the ignorant, and so reach some that might not be reached by other favorable influences. But we have no hope of the regeneration of the written drama or the theater under the usurped regency of pleasure. This is the seal of its degradation, and until this is broken no permanent reform is possible. Its aid in the cause of pure morals will be at the best spasmodic. The status of public morality and public taste will determine that of the theater, and hence one necessary condition of stage reform is, that there shall be an abounding of truth and righteousness among the people. A refined taste, pureness of heart, and a love of truth for practical ends worthy of a rational spirit, will naturally elevate the drama to its now lost office of giving instruction and entertainment, apart from its present surroundings of vice and crime. And, until then, the duty of the Christian and philanthropist is clear; they must keep aloof from the theater. The presence of the sober and the religious classes would not reform the theater whose only god is amusement, but it would corrupt them. A Christian must have done strange violence to his judgment and conscience to frequent the theater on the honest plea of its being a school of good morals and fit instruction. Satan has long had a share in the use of the fine arts, music especially; but he is almost sole proprietor of the modern theater. We would it were not so. We love all the forms

of man's activity, and the poetic not the least, and lament the sad and sinful abuse of what might be a crowning glory of man's mental achievements.

Must, then, dramatic literature be ignored? Not at all. Keep the distinction clear between the *acted* and the *written* drama, between dramatic poetry and the theater, and our duty is equally clear. Dramatic poetry is chargeable with no evils that may not and do not lie against every species of written composition. A drama written to be read cuts off the evil accompaniments of the stage. We then put in the plea for a written drama, for enjoyment and instruction in the privacy of a home, that shall embody the religious spirit, poetic grace, noble idealism, and the severe outline of Attic tragedy, and be animated by the Christian teachings of the age. We see no reason why the enlightened Christian mind of this age may not find fit expression in the dramatic form; fit, not for the stage—too pure and thoughtful for that—but for the parlor and study. The revival of the Greek drama is an impossibility, and not desirable if it were possible. Materials for tragedy as well as tragi-comedy and comedy are not lacking, and these can be idealized by the spirit of a Christian humanity, aided by the elevation and enlargement of view which has fallen to us in the progress of the ages.

Nor do we desire a revival of the so-called Scriptural mediæval dramas. The specific form of an art must spring from the consciousness of the times that give it birth. So will a pure drama spring from an enlightened and reverential Christian consciousness. The objection that a Christian play would shock the religious feelings by making God a *dramatis persona* is wholly void; for there is no need of its being theomorphic. In nearly half the extant plays of the Greek masters of tragedy, the chief actors are human only. Nor would we seriously object to a tragi-comedy, seeing that the laughs and weepers jostle each other continually, and the sportive or humorous impulse, purely and truthfully directed, flings a sweet freshness over the more somber scenes of life.

A late article in the Presbyterian Quarterly so well expresses our views on this subject that we quote: "Christian tragedy must be *written*, not *acted*. In the retirement of the study or the parlor it may be enjoyed, but not on the stage. And in such a reading age as ours, when almost every child has been taught to conquer the printed page, the results may be as beneficial as if the old majesty of the Greek proscenium, baptized by a spiritual Christianity, were offered to our eyes."

ART. II.—FAITH, THE EVERLASTING BOND.

No doctrine of our holy religion has been more widely and ably discussed, explained, and defended, than Faith. The most vigorous intellects and warmest hearts have united to declare its power to enlighten and to strengthen the human soul for all high and holy action. Philosophic mind has explained its nature, its varied phases of action, as applied to different subjects in the material universe, and in the intercourse of man with man in his friendly and commercial relations. Religious mind has pressed the principle yet more widely and deeply, and adopting the basis so clearly presented by the masters of Mental Philosophy, has shown its power to "overcome the world" in the purest spiritual sense, to redeem the soul from the fetters of sin and earth, to enable it to triumph over death and the grave, and leaves it in full exercise before the throne of God.

There is a class of trained mind who, clearly perceiving these mental relations, with the added spiritual light consequent on and abiding with a renovated moral nature, reach a point where doubt and fear expire, leaving the soul free to press on from "grace to grace." There is another class, the perfect antipodes of this, who do not reason at all on the subject, who never analyze and sift their thoughts or emotions; they awake to the fact that they are sinners, they are instructed to believe in Christ as their Saviour, they do so in all simplicity and sincerity of feeling, and the result is pardon and salvation. For them "it is well sometimes to be insensible of diversities which, if discussed, are more likely to confuse their perceptions of some essential difference, than to aid their decision." But there is a third class, numerous in every community, who are thus described by Isaac Taylor:

"They stand midway between the advantageous post of rude, ingenuous fervor, and that of real or unrivaled eminence in matters of science and learning. But a middle position is one of jeopardy, incertitude, timidity. By all the amount of their actual intelligence they feel the offense of the cross; and yet their intelligence reaches not the point which should set them free from anxiety in maintaining their profession; so that while the uninstructed, when borne onward by a ruling principle, forget all secondary considerations, the more intelligent, though not less steady and consistent in action, (perhaps more so,) yet continue to hold converse with reasons they have repudiated, and to traverse again and again the ground of their firmest convictions."

Standing in this rank, the writer feels the deepest, widest sympathy with struggling religious mind; and supposing past experience to be a fac-simile of thousands of other minds who are "fighting

the fight of faith" amid the mists of obscure mental vision, would throw one ray of light which may lead some to a result not otherwise gained, except by weary, personal conflict; for Taylor again says: "The elementary principle of faith receives an enrichment, a diversity of color, and an *individual* form, from its combination with the peculiarities of mind wherein it lodges." It is our object to show the reasonableness of faith, and *why* it is so mighty to conquer. We would trace some of its beautiful developments from the by-gone eternity at the point where we can take cognizance of its actings, and trace the links of a wondrously connected chain through Eden, through this fallen earth in all its upward struggles, in Gethsemane in its redeeming power, in the Christian Church, in the Reformation, and in individual experience, until the redeemed are all before the throne of God; and even there, we think, is written, "Now abideth these three—*faith*," etc.

First, let us picture heaven in its ancient and primeval beauty; containing myriads of angelic beings of various intellectual ranks, but all holy and obedient to the great Central Power which had created them, which sustained them, and which governed them in perfect love and wisdom. Ages rolled on, marked by increasing advancement and happiness; but we know too little of angelic natures to imagine their employments, to know their tests or their temptations. One, lofty in position, a leader among the ranks of heaven, of capacious intellect, of vast powers, of immense resources, and of wide-extended influence, became dissatisfied with his condition. We do not, for one moment, speculate upon the question, *how* a holy being, in a holy place, could admit an evil thought. We take the simple revealed fact: in heaven Satan doubted. *He lost faith* in the wisdom and love of God who had defined his position and his duties; and yielding here, he snapped the only bond which unites an intellectual, spiritual being to its Creator. This was not probably the work of a moment. It was considered well and long; the tremendous probabilities were weighed by a mind capable of vast calculations and of far-seeing vision, and it was the deliberate choice of a free-will agent. Then again, Satan influenced an innumerable host; some received, some rejected his counsel; this presupposes thought, conference, and deliberate decisions. The fact that for this fallen angelic host *no redemption was provided*, proves their sin to have been of a special malignity; but until we know more of the peculiarities of angelic nature, we cannot clearly perceive the justice of their irremediable sentence. The point to seize and hold is this: *want of faith in God* was the starting point of all evil. Unbelief laid the foundation from which arose anarchy,

rebellion, the loss of heaven, and the infliction of an endless hell to angels. Heaven was purged, and again glowed in unsullied brightness, and a lesson had been taught the loyal ranks of a most confirming nature.

It pleased the Almighty in his wisdom, to create a new scene of action; probably for the instruction and fuller confirmation of the unfallen myriads. At his word this earth was formed, and Eden clothed in perfect, if not heavenly beauty. A new race was created, and humanity entered on an immortal career. It would be interesting to know wherein holy and intellectual natures can materially differ; but that knowledge is reserved for a future world. The angelic and human are not alike, though the past has proved that both can fall.

Behold our first parents in Eden, a holy, happy pair. The moral atmosphere is as pure as that which pervaded heaven, and the whole being, moral, intellectual, and physical, is without flaw or stain. Another mystery we cannot solve: Satan is permitted to tempt, and they to listen, to yield, to fall. Satan had had fearful proof of what unbelief could accomplish; perhaps centuries had passed since his first experiment, and he had watched its varied workings amid the doomed ranks around him. One thing was sure, absolute ruin was the result. No marvel then that he should repeat the experiment with a race he had resolved to ruin. He could not try again in heaven, for he was too far removed; to earth he had mysterious access. He succeeded by inducing a *want of faith* in their Creator, God. The tie of holy union was again broken, and the human as well as the angelic nature was severed from its God, and a wide, and as Satan thought, an impassable chasm intervened; for he had no foresight of the grace that could bridge it over, and make it a highway for the redeemed.

Satan had again triumphed, and seemed to possess a sure power to ruin holy beings wherever he had access. If ever conquered, then, *faith* was to be the point of contest and of victory. This weapon (the power of inducing unbelief) was to be rescued from his grasp, and the opposite of that which had ruined was to restore, by gaining its original ascendancy throughout the universe of God. Turning from a ruined world, let us, with solemn reverence, take a higher view, basing all our thoughts on that only which is revealed. The Triune God had resolved on man's redemption, and in solemn covenant had arranged the plan which was to retrieve earth, to confirm heaven, and to defeat hell in final overthrow. God the Father gave his only-begotten Son; God the Son assumed humanity, to suffer, to die, and to rise again; God the Holy Spirit pledged his

sustaining power to the man Christ Jesus in the tremendous conflict, and his regenerating and saving influences to the purchased Church, until the top-stone of perfect victory should be raised with shouting. The promise in Eden commenced the work. Satan heard the plan of restoration with wonder and dismay, but rallied all his energies for opposition at every point, and *perhaps* victory in the end, having such hope based upon the proved weakness of human nature.

Now let our minds revert to Old Testament history, and we shall find that in every conflict and in every trial, *faith* was the grand point of contest. *Faith in God* the victory of man, or *unbelief* the triumph of Satan. By faith Noah built the ark, and Abraham offered his son, and Moses forsook Egypt, and Joshua and Caleb gained the promised land. By faith Israel conquered in battle, and Isaiah saw Messiah's triumph, and Jerusalem arose from dust and ashes, and the stately temple was rich in sacrifice and redolent of gold and incense. On the other hand, unbelief generated idolatry with its perverting influences, and caused the deluge with its destructive power, and buried the cities of the plain. It slew the Israelites in the wilderness, lost them numberless battles, led them into various captivities, and shrouded their whole moral nature in almost impervious darkness.

In the fullness of time Jesus came. Infinite wisdom selected the place, the hour, the mode. Perfect humanity again appeared on earth, though its native Eden had departed, and the atmosphere it breathed was tainted with sin and death. Thus Satan had the decided advantage, in that he could multiply the agencies of temptation and evil as he could not have done in Paradise.

Now it is of great importance to the discussion, that we should here closely hold to the idea of the *perfect manhood of Jesus*. Human nature fell in the first Adam; human nature was redeemed in the second Adam. (An interesting question is here suggested. Was the second Adam in his pure manhood superior to the first, or did they stand at equal points to be tempted by the great arch-fiend?) At what age Jesus became fully conscious of his great mission, we do not know. At twelve we see its dawning, and as his mind expanded, the great idea of his destiny became clear. Wider and wider grew the grasp of cause and effect, until its magnitude, its responsibilities, and its tremendous results, were mapped out before his mental vision. No wonder that he spent whole nights in prayer; no wonder that we trace a deepening sadness through all his utterances, as he advanced calmly and steadily to the great propitiatory hour. We emphasize the fact that the Divine nature seemed to hold itself in abeyance except when Jesus

required it for miracle. The perfect man lived and nourished himself *by faith*, not by sensible consolations. He lived by "the word of God" as absolutely as Adam was required to do in Eden, and amid far greater difficulties. He met the tempter in stern conflict amid the pain and hunger of forty days, and conquered by the word of God. By *simple faith* in that word, for he had no accessory aids. Thus we trace the triumph of this principle from the commencement of his mission. Satan never gained an inch of ground from the second Adam through all his mortal life. So far humanity was retrieved and hell discomfited.

Solemnly we approach the final conflict. All hell has rallied for the issue, all earth has combined to hate and to destroy. "He trod the wine-press alone, and of the people there was *none* with him." Alone in the garden of Gethsemane he agonizes and bleeds. Alone, with unclouded intellect, and keenest feeling, his mighty mind surveys the scene. An infuriated, waiting hell, a ruined, unbelieving earth, his Father's throne darkened by the shadow successful sin had cast, eternal justice to be vindicated, eternal truth upheld, the obstructed channel of infinite love to be reopened, and infinite mercy permitted to act without a restraining barrier; he saw (as we cannot see) a fearful expiation to be made, and himself a sin-offering for a guilty world. He saw the glorious results of his successful achievement—earth redeemed, man pardoned and sanctified, heaven opened, his Father glorified, and the triumphant mediatorial crown upon his own weary head. But he saw, too, a defeat, a ruined earth, a victorious devil; consequences which we cannot even imagine.

Perfect humanity wrestled with these views, and trembling hung upon the balance. They clothed the body in bloody sweat; they extorted the impassioned cry, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me;" and "he was heard in that he feared." The Saviour did not shrink from suffering; he would not have put from him the cup of the world's redemption. "An angel came from heaven strengthening him." What did he say to nerve that torn, struggling, bleeding heart? Did he not whisper the Holy Spirit's pledge? Did he not speak of infinite strength and infinite resources? Did not the perfect man rally, and by one mighty *act of faith* lay hold of the Infinite—thus link the human with the Divine in that tremendous hour, and as the God-man expiate and die? "Who through the eternal Spirit offered himself to God." Was not the bond of union broken by the first Adam in his fall, through *unbelief*, here again united by the second Adam through *faith*? Perfect humanity had stood the severest test to which it could be subjected; had met the

tempter with all his wisdom and resources and experience of centuries, and had triumphed. The *principle of faith* was re-established, and through its agency individual man was to be redeemed from sin, and fallen earth restored to more than primeval beauty.

We anticipate a query as we pass on. Do we not make the faith of Jesus, rather than his death, the procuring cause of man's salvation? We answer, No. He bore a load, he endured an anguish, he died a death, which we cannot comprehend, on which we dare not speculate. We only know it was not a human offering, and yet we read: "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God," "but being found in fashion *as a man*, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." Something linked the human with the Divine; unblended they abode together, and, to our mind, it seems so clear that the completest triumph of Christ over Satan would consist in restoring the *original bond* which he (Satan) had broken, that *faith*, as the instrumental cause of union at that test-point and forever, looks gloriously grand in its perfect simplicity.

Now, in this light, read the letters of the apostles, or rather, begin with the Gospels. The opening announcement of the plan of salvation: "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever *believeth* in him, should not perish;" "To them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that *believe* on his name." It is deeply interesting to trace the vigorous actings of the principle of *faith*, when the Holy Ghost descended in Pentecostal power upon the hitherto feeble Christian Church. The ascension of Jesus into heaven had completed his redeeming work. The mighty chasm which had been created by sin and unbelief between fallen man and his offended God, was bridged over by Almighty love. Beneath the Spirit's influence, the Apostles believed all that Jesus had personally taught them, and with a triumphant bound they leaped to the other side of that bridge, and stood there ever after immovable and "more than conquerors." How full and undoubting their proclamation: "Whosoever will, let him come;" "Whosoever calleth on the name of the Lord shall be saved." How glorious and wonderful the results: "three thousand added to the Church in one day," etc. Trace it through the epistles; justification by *faith*, sanctification by *faith*, salvation by *faith*, how urged, reiterated, enforced! Argued in one letter with logical power; in another, used as a persuasive, gentle lure; in a third, grasping the entire Hebrew economy, and making it pregnant with life and meaning to the believing mind, even while clearly showing it to be but "the shadow of good things to come," of which

vigorous Christian faith brought the foretaste here, and the glorious anticipations of unutterable bliss hereafter. "Whom having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet *believing*, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." "Jesus, the great high priest of our profession, who has passed into the heavens." In this light read Heb. xi, 12, and it will be clearly seen that while the other graces follow in its train, *faith* is the leader through all the sorrows of life, the upholder mid the agonies of martyrdom, the conqueror over death and the grave, the sure bond through all eternity.

Turning from the Bible to later ecclesiastical history, even a cursory reader can see that the more unfettered the action of this principle, the more successful was the religion it represented; that as it lost its central position, in the same proportion the Church lost its spiritual power, until the corruption of death was nearly reached by the Roman Church in the period preceding the Reformation. At that time it was buried beneath ceremonies, and superstitions, and popish mummeries, and priestly craft; it was not dead, but the vital power was so nearly extinct that it could not act. The work of the reformers was simply to remove the load of rubbish that benumbed it. Aided by the Spirit of God, it first found full development in their own hearts, and then went forth, like a flaming fire, "conquering and to conquer." It was the clear conception of this principle that made Wesley and Whitefield mighty to arrest and save the masses to whom they preached; and ever since, in Christian or in heathen lands, victory has ever been in proportion as *salvation by faith* has been rightly apprehended and received. In the redemption of individual man, the Holy Spirit continually employs this one great medium. The word of truth falls upon the sinner's ear, the Spirit uncloses the torpid sense, he hears, *believes*, and starts from sleep. Another message; he *believes* and trembles in view of sin and danger. Again, it whispers of a Saviour's love; he *believes*, unutterable peace pervades his soul, and he starts on a Christian's high career. The world presses, Satan tempts, inbred sin obstructs, but the words of promise cluster richly round; he *believes* and triumphs. Troubles assail, friends depart, earth's fairest props are broken; "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee," is heard amid the universal crash; he *believes*, and struggles onward still with the triumphant song, "Who shall separate us from the love of God!" The body fails, the chills of death steal over him;

"The world recedes, it disappears,
Heaven opens on his eyes, his ears
With sounds seraphic ring!

Lend, lend your wings, I mount, I fly!
O grave, where is thy victory?
O death, where is thy sting?"

and *through faith* he obtains abundant entrance into the everlasting kingdom of full fruition.

Thus Satan is foiled at every step; thus every point is wrested from him, and now we see *why* strong faith so glorifies God, and so elevates the human soul. If perfect faith united perfect humanity to Divinity in Eden before the fall, and also in Gethsemane as part of redemption's price, we see the fitness and the power of this instrumentality in restoring man to his forfeited position, and leading him through Satan's kingdom to his home above. And for aught we can see, *faith in God* must keep all heaven's host revolving around the central throne, and bind each to all in everlasting brotherhood of union.

ART. III.—AMERICAN SLAVE CODE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

American Slave Code in Theory and Practice. Its Distinctive Features shown by its Statutes, Judicial Decisions, and Illustrative Facts. By WILLIAM GOODELL. New-York, 48 Beekman-street.*

THE *fact* of the existing relations between master and slave in our Southern states is not to be argued; it is notorious. The *nature* of those relations is less palpable. They should be accurately defined and unerringly traced. Should they be found, by cautious analysis, to be capable of no modification which did not involve destruction, the discussion of the institution based on them will be without intricacy.

For an infallible exponent of these relations we need not go beyond the *slave CODE* of the South. Should this code be found in vigorous operation in the South, and should its practical application be found indispensable to the very existence of slavery, then will

* Most of the authorities cited in this paper are found in the volume named at the head of this article. As the writer of that book aimed merely at collecting and classifying extracts from the slave codes of the various states in the South, our use of him will be restricted to the appropriation of some of his authorities to the special purposes of this article. That book compresses in a narrow space so numerous authorities, and arranges them with such skill and accuracy, as to richly reward the most attentive reading.

the character of the institution be fairly tested by the *nature* of that *code*. The aim of this paper will be to exhibit an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of this code, as the basis of a valid judgment of that institution. All foreign tests can be nothing but mere fallacies. They who ransack the archives of departed ages, of buried nations for this purpose, may furnish us amusement, but can never create conviction. What has the patriarchal servitude, or that which belonged to the code of Moses, to do with American slavery?

Before the slightest force can attach to the argument from that to our slavery, the identity of the great elements of both must be proved. Till this is done, whatever Divine tolerance or sanction may be shown for the one, it cannot be claimed for the other. We must peremptorily demand, as a test, an unequivocal expression of God's will. This, and not the harmless servitude approved in the infancy of the race, must fix the moral character of slavery.

How can the inquirer, guided by these false analogies, make the smallest approach to truth? When slavery has been charged with immorality, what correct thinker has not been surprised at the holder's response, "I am merely copying the patriarchs in their divinely authorized institution." As though there ever had been, or could be, an American on this continent holding slaves under the Mosaic or Patriarchal code. No such code has existed for ages, nor can it exist in this republic.

Nor are the virtues which may adorn the few of such as act under a corrupting system, any moral test of the system itself. In spite of the profoundest corruption and intensest despotisms, that have buried the virtues and crushed the hopes of man, instances have never been wanting of shining virtue. Should such be found among Southern slaveholders, their character cannot be an exponent of that system in spite of which it has been formed. To the shallow observer it may disguise the tendency of the system, but could never be the fruit of its workings.

Nor can we admit for a moment the innocence of this institution on the allegation that "its apparent evils are its ABUSES." We submit to all unbiased men, whether that which includes all possible injustice is *capable of abuse*. If all wrong be intrinsic to it, is it possible to do wrong out of its sphere? Would not every illegitimate application of *such* a principle be right? If there be no room in the universe for any principle which is neither right nor wrong, then that which is purely wrong cannot be so in its misapplications. The abuse, therefore, of such a principle is preposterous. It is an impossibility which can never be truthfully alleged. As an apology for

slavery we hold it utterly groundless. Should we successfully attempt to portray the slave code, this development of its nature will furnish our readers with the true character of the institution which it protects. Especially will this be so, should the strictest harmony be found between these laws and the fundamental principles of slavery. We are aware that these slave laws have been pronounced the product of a darker age, and "merely the obsolete lumber of the nineteenth century." But in direct conflict with this statement, we ascertain that the most rigorous of these laws were born in our own century, and not a few in our own age.

No generation is held responsible for defunct laws which its improvements have consigned to the unopened volumes of the past. But this can never be so with the slave laws until the utter subversion of the institution itself. If the intrinsic nature of slavery demanded every law which has been enacted for its protection, then the continued existence of the one proclaims the present enforcement of the other. In what chapter of man's history have we ever found a nation's practice superior to its laws? The preponderance is invariably in the other scale.

But were it not thus *generally*, it would be so where slavery obtains, for it is not possible to take away man's self-ownership and appropriate him like mere brutes, without a course of practice for which an enlightened age would blush were it expressed by statutes. When those atrocities which have birth in the very principle of slavery are urged against the institution, how often is the answer manufactured out of what arises from the normal state of society. The cruelties of capitalists to their laborers, of mechanics to their apprentices, and even of parents to their offspring, are alleged as parallels. But were this answer valid, who sees not that the best and worst institutions in the universe would be equally good? What must be that cause which demands such an argument? Because one parent in a million, in spite of all the tender relations binding him to his child, can act the bloody tyrant toward that child, therefore slavery, which never fails to create tyrants, is harmless as the domestic institution!

We shall now entreat our reader to accompany us in the statement of the fundamental principle, in developing the harmony between this and the slave laws, and in showing the unavoidable connection between these laws and the general practice of slave owners.

The grand fundamental principle on which an institution is founded, contains in itself whatever the institution legitimately authorizes, and excludes all laws and regulations in conflict with the institution. Such a principle is therefore wrong in itself, if it be so in any of its

legitimate workings. If in all its appropriate applications it be right, it is intrinsically right. By ascertaining, then, what is the fundamental principle of slavery, we shall find it facile to point out the discrepance or harmony of the slave laws with that principle. This principle is briefly stated as consisting in THE ABSOLUTE OWNERSHIP ON THE PART OF THE MASTER IN HIS RELATION TO HIS SLAVE. Concede this proprietary relation of the one to the other, and what claim on that property can be too sweeping? Can he who has no right to himself have any right to anything else? And being void of all right, can he be susceptible of any injury? If self-ownership be the foundation of all rights, the want of that precludes the presence of these, and this makes the infliction of wrong an impossibility. For there can be no wrong suffered where no rights are possessed. If it be in the very nature of self-ownership to comprehend all other rights belonging to a moral agent, then the loss of that is the removal of these. When the title to property is valid, any use of it not injurious to another is just. No slave law can be out of harmony with the fundamental principle, if it prohibits the owner from injuring his neighbor by his slave property. Injury to the property itself (the slave) is out of the question, for as the fundamental law allows the slave no rights, he *cannot* be the subject of wrong. A law permitting the master to starve the slave, to dig out his eyes, or beat out his brains, would in nowise conflict with the fundamental principle. The great principle of justice proclaims his right to *do as he will with his own*. Any law, therefore, restricting his rights to appropriate his slave as he pleases, would be unjust, oppressive, tyrannical; it would antagonize with the very foundation principle of the institution.

This absolute right of property, then, precluding all other right in it, whether it be in the property itself or in any other claimant, this right leaves the master absolute lord of the slave. Hence all slave laws consistent with the institution, treat slaves not as persons, but as things; not as men, but as property; not as agents, but as chattels. Now it requires no great depth of scrutiny to perceive these two classes, persons and things, can never exchange places. One must forever be without what is essential to the other. The laws adapted to each must also be equally dissimilar. The uses to which the two classes should be appropriated, must have the same unlikeness and the agency by which they are controlled must be internal to the one but never so to the other. Now this very distinction between the material and the mental universe, has been recognized between master and slave by a vote of the United States Congress, and by a late decision of our supreme federal court.

Every slave law ignoring this distinction, is either at war with the institution, or enacted to remain a dead letter.

We proceed, then, to the slave code, to examine it in the light of the *essential principle* of the institution. As that shows the slave *legally* divested of his personality, it involves his *ineligibility* to any privilege belonging to a person. The *marriage* state cannot be his, as by the Creator's appointment it involves *personal* obligations. Hence the slave's marriage, with his owner's consent, is his emancipation from thralldom. The slave's state is that of a chattel; domestic obligations are personal; the two states, therefore, can never co-exist. The marriage among slaves is pronounced by the highest judicial authority to be without civil and sacred sanction. (Stroud's Sketch of Slave Laws, p. 61.) No slave, therefore, has ever maintained an action against the polluter of his bed. No one has been punished for fornication, for adultery, or for bigamy. (Maryland Reports, 561-563.) As slavery ignores the marital right, it recognizes nothing which is in that right. The father and mother are without claim on each other, without security against separation, without parental rights in their offspring, without government over them. Education, protection, with all those parental duties arising out of the married relations, can never devolve on a slave. Hence a legal expounder justly asserts, "that the law knows no more of the marriage of slaves than of brutes." (Jay's Inquiry, p. 132.) How could it be otherwise with a slave who is incident to be bought, sold, transferred, mortgaged, attached, leased, distributed, and inherited? What shadow of the domestic institution can attach to beings who may be hourly the sport of all these mutations? Of all the slave states, none but Louisiana can prevent this violent disruption of either parents from each other, or of children from them. (Stroud's Sketch, p. 50.) To these heart-rending separations there are no statutory restrictions or limitations. (Wheeler's Law of Slavery, p. 46.)

That the family relations among slaves are ignored by general society, is too palpable to be laboriously proved. Even the benevolent institutions of the age have not failed to assume it. The American Bible Society did this. When it announced the supply of "every family in the United States with a Bible," no one conceived slaves to be included. Though these constituted more than one eighth of the entire nation, not a single family was supposed to exist in these three millions of Africans. Masters distinguished for their piety and humanity act on the same assumption. Of the long list of recorded instances take only the one following: "A slave owned by such a master went without permission to spend a reasonable period with his wife, for which he was kept six weeks

in the stocks, endured fifty lashes per week, and received only food sufficient to prevent actual starvation. During this month and a half of the slave's threefold agony, his lenient master was in his last sickness." (Weld's *Slavery as it is*, p. 23.)

"That not a fragment of the family institution remains among slaves, is also apparent by the arbitrary sundering of entire families, which is daily executed with a suddenness and barbarity shocking to the least sensitive. Parents are no more consulted as to the disposition to be made of their children than are domestic animals as to the control of their young." (Ib., pp. 56, 57.)

Volumes might be swelled by those acts of masters which assumed the non-existence of the *family* among slaves. We quote only a single instance of the thirty advertisements inserted in Weld's *Slavery as it is*, (pp. 164-166.) "Twenty-five dollars reward. Run away from the subscriber, a negro woman, named Matilda. She may be somewhere up the river, as she was claimed *as a wife* by some boatman there." The Southern papers are crowded with such notices. The tone in which these speak of the marriage covenant among slaves is in accordance with their daily practical disregard of it, and with the farcical character stamped on it by the principle of the institution. The tears of agony wrung from ten thousand sufferers, and the shriek of despair piercing the heavens, are the heart-rending eloquence expressive of the mockery of the marriage covenant. But this is only a single point of all those to which this far-reaching principle applies. Another of its requisitions is the slave's entire submission to the master's pleasure. The slave being legally incapable of being injured is out of the sphere of persons, and is classed with mere things. His master could not have absolute control without corresponding submission on the part of the slave. The necessity of this reciprocity is repeatedly recognized by the ablest jurists of the South. We quote from Judge Strong, (p. 24,) who says: "It is plain that the dominion of the master is as unlimited as that which is tolerated by the law of any civilized country in relation to brute animals; quadrupeds, to use the words of the law. . . . He may supply the slaves with such food and clothing, both as to quantity and quality, as he may think proper or find convenient. . . . The master may determine the time and degree of labor to which the slave shall be subjected. And so far-reaching is this power that it may be exercised over the slave by any one whom the master may depute. The master may inflict such punishment on the person of the slave as he shall judge proper." (Ib., p. 24.)

Now these prerogatives, so expressly secured to the master by

statute law, are no less implicitly authorized by the fundamental principle. Both harmonize in making him irresponsible in the exercise of his power, and in allowing that power to be unlimited in its extent. There is not a slave in the South who is not legally under its control, bodily, mentally, morally, educationally, and religiously. Though the master cannot shut out from him the light of the sun and stars, he can exclude the light of the mind and of the Bible. He can stamp imbecility on those deathless powers of the spirit whose destined range is *infinity*. But while these laws of the institution thus expressly place the intelligence, the morality, the piety, the health, and the life of the slave in the master's keeping, they depart not one hair's breadth from what is innate in the fundamental principle. These relations of the parties remain unmodified by any possible circumstances. No matter how sensitive, reflective, and religious the slave; how ignorant, vulgar, and profane the master, the one is under the brute sway of the other; he is his impersonal tool to work out his basest purposes.

By the law of all civilized man, self-defense is admissible against the violence of an assailant; but this would be death to the slave. No matter how great his physical strength, or how small that of his master; no matter how undeserved the infliction, or to what barbarous extent it is imposed, the sufferer must be unresisting as an infant, though the master be furious as a maniac, (p. 97.) This principle is inculcated by every variety of illustration. Another law recognizing it says: "The submission of the slave can be perfect only as the power of the master is absolute. . . . To remain a slave he must be sensible that there is no appeal from his master." (North Carolina Reports, 263.)

The conclusion is here expressly authorized that this tyranny over the body and mind, the soul and spirit, is not only lawful, but is indispensable to the very existence of slavery. (Wheeler's Law of Slavery, pp. 124-128.) This authorizes the statement of Jefferson, who, in the very ears of the South, said: "The whole commerce between the master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passion; the most unrelenting despotism on the one part and degrading submission on the other." "Thus is he nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny." Indeed, the utter crush of the victim's spirit under the power of the lash is the necessity of the institution. (Slavery as it is, p. 45.) So that the overseer's lash is the only law for the slave in this republic. (P. 49.)

The power of this institution to assimilate all others to its own likeness is not a modern discovery. It is not wanting, however, in late instances of its molding agency. The Church, whose just

claim has for ages been to a higher morality than the State, has owned the superior power of the slave institution. This surrender to that powerful antagonism has been peculiar to no single branch of the Church. We take as a specimen a resolution adopted by the Savannah River Baptist Association. They resolved that "the master's authority to annul slave marriages, and compel new sexual connections between Baptist husbands and wives, whom he had violently separated, is valid."

Though few Christian Churches have placed the master's authority so expressly above God's law, yet have those of almost every denomination done by implication the same thing. What though a few Southern voices have indignantly exclaimed: "What! authorize the master to coerce to these *divinely* forbidden crimes!" This usurpation of Jehovah's authority has ceased to surprise us. It is a demand of the system; though it is not often made openly, it never fails to be made *really*. In the presence of so intense an antagonism, how is *neutrality* possible? For the Church to attempt to occupy this position, would be going over to the foe. It must, therefore, take sides with legalized crime, or prepare for the martyr's struggle.

But we are reminded "that, in accordance with the chivalrous character of the South, it has magnanimously enacted laws protective of the slave." That laws so entitled exist in several of the slave states is notorious, but that the protection of the slave is their object is not quite so unquestionable. Let us scrutinize a few of these protective statutes, to determine their harmony or conflict with the institution. The State of South Carolina prohibited the master from working his slaves more than fourteen hours per day in cold weather, or fifteen in warm." This prohibition is not without significance. As it is introduced by the assertion that slaves had not sufficient time for natural rest, it tacitly proclaims that a longer period measured the daily task of the slave, and as it was found to crush him into a premature grave, such a wanton waste of property must be legally precluded. Other slave states, as Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia, restricted the labor of their criminals in the state penitentiary to ten hours per day, and no more than this was demanded of the West India slaves. The merciful provision of the South Carolina law left only one third more labor on the slave. Take another instance of protective statutes from the slave code of Georgia. This forbids the owner to inflict such punishment, to require such labor, and so withhold food and clothing, as to impair the slave's health. (Prince's Digest, 376.) This prohibition involves the previous practice of these outrages. It assumes the owner's

legal right to perpetrate them on his slaves, and that the fundamental principle of slavery invests him with these fearful prerogatives. But this statutory protection utterly fails to provide for the case. While it binds the owner it leaves the overseer beyond its jurisdiction. It leaves the slave to groan away his agonizing life under the iron rod of this proximate tyrant, without even a pretended shield of protection. We advert to another legal provision, which, however, is restricted to Louisiana. That law allowed "slaves thirty minutes to breakfast, and two hours for dinner, when they prepared it for themselves." This merciful interference is referable to the lingering influence of the French and Spanish slave laws, which were far less rigorous than ours. Still this is but an appearance of clemency, as the profoundest silence is maintained on the hours of their commencing and terminating labor, and we know by unquestionable witnesses that in the sugar-making season whole nights were worn away by their exhausting labor. In a few other slave states, laws have been enacted to limit the hours of slave labor. But what provision has ever been made for the enforcing of such laws? Will these be executed by the owner? By him are they violated. Or by the overtaken slave? Impossible, for no colored person can on any account be a witness or complainant against the whites. May not the non-slaveholder enforce these laws? Never! The silence of death is not deeper than that imposed on this class in the South. Overawed by their lordly neighbors, their utterances are in the midnight whisper.

The unendurable rigor with which these laws suppose the slaves treated, is indicated, also, by the extreme brevity of their lives: "The average lives of those taken to the extreme South scarcely reach seven years." The four slave states which have enacted these pseudo-protective laws cannot be unaware of their farcical character. They regard the food, the labor, the clothing, and the correction of the slaves. They are divisible into two classes. Those of the first class are surrounded with circumstances which are a bar to their enforcement, and could never have been intended to be availing. The second class are not inoperative, as they benefit the *law-making owner*.

Let us scrutinize that law which we have quoted from the slave code of Georgia. It is so constructed as to apply only when excessive whipping, starving hunger, and crushing labor are all made to meet in the experience of the slave. Either of these inflictions can occur alone, and may endure for any length of time, without infracting the law. Or should they all be suffered together, and the victim not lose his health, the law has no penalty for the iron-

hearted master. Or if they should be murderous, so as to take his life, who would avenge his death by applying the law?

That the inefficiency of these protective laws is a painful reality, evidence from Southern records is abundant. We have room here only to give it in its most condensed form from Weld's collection of it, (*Slavery as it is*): "Slaves in Virginia are ill fed. They are doomed to scarcity and hunger." "In 1839 they had not sufficient food to eat; they were scarcely allowed the crumbs from their master's table; they were deprived of needful subsistence." They were supplied with only sufficient barley to keep them from starving. "In Georgia their allowance is insufficient to support laboring men." "In Tennessee thousands are pressed with the gnawings of hunger." In North Carolina (1826) "the greater part of them go half starved much of the time." In Louisiana, (1835), "there is a good deal of suffering from hunger." "They are famished during a great part of the year." In Mississippi, "they are half starved. Their sufferings are in the quality as well as in the quantity of their food. Ordinarily, this is merely vegetable; it is merely on special occasions they have any meat, and nothing like a sufficient quantity or a healthful quality is allowed them."

"Attempts have been made to substitute cotton seed for their allowance of corn." The fatal result was expressed by General W. Hampton, who, with an oath, exclaimed: "They die like rotten sheep."

In Maryland "a peck of corn a week was by custom allowed to each slave." In Florida "it was a quart of corn per day, with a little salt for a full-tasked hand." These particular statements corroborate that general assertion of T. Clay, of Georgia, "that the food of slaves is of the coarsest kind. . . . They live on a coarse, crude, unwholesome sort."

The Western Medical Reform states as a notorious fact, "that vast numbers of badly-fed negroes were swept away by that prevailing epidemic." Their meals, which occur twice a day, (eleven A.M., and from seven to ten P.M.) are taken in the most dreary circumstances. Dr. Edward P. Bliss, Esq., and B. S. Ranshaw agree with many other authorities in stating, "the slaves know nothing of gathering around the social board. Their meals are taken without table-spoon, or knife, or fork. The benchless ground is their seat, and their peck of corn, distributed through the week, is their repast." Though this picture may be beyond the reality in the slave-producing states, it is not overdrawn in the slave-consuming states. Weld's "*Slavery as it is*" shows, by numerous and unimpeachable evidence, that the want of clothing by day and

covering by night is not an inconsiderable source of slave suffering.

A Virginian stated in Congress that he "knew many negroes died from exposure to weather; . . . that they were clad in flimsy fabric, which could turn neither wind nor water." In Maryland "naked slaves often fall victims to the inclemency of the weather." In Georgia we rode through many rice swamps, where the blacks were very numerous, men and women were working up to their waist in water, nearly naked. "In every slave state negro men and women suffer extremely both when they labor and when they sleep. Their want of protection against the rains, and winds, and piercing colds, occasions intense and often fatal sufferings. In the South generally, men and women have scarcely clothes sufficient to conceal their nakedness. Boys and girls, from ten to twelve years, are often among their master's children in entire nudity."

That rags, or almost utter nakedness, is the common state of slaves, appears from almost every advertisement made by the owners of fugitives. In Florida each was allowed a pair of trowsers and a baize shirt for summer, and, in some cases, to these was added a pair of shoes for winter.

We are aware that in conflict with these well-attested statements have been urged the reports of interested and superficial observers. Such have jumped to the conclusion that the well-dressed waiters at hotels, and those in families of fashion, and such as are pampered for misses, are specimens of those thousands of half-naked wretches which toil and perish in the rice swamps. What conclusion could be more amazing than this? Because one slave in a hundred thousand, neatly clad for a special purpose, has met the searching eye of these reporters, therefore the millions that never enter their master's house are in a decent and sufficient costume!

In keeping with the ragged and half-covering garments they wear, are the *huts* in which they lodge. These are eight by ten feet, and about the same height. They have a hole for a chimney; the ground for a floor. They are without partition to separate the sexes; without sash, or glass, or chair, or bedstead. Here the slave shivers away the night under the single blanket which covers him.

Such is the filth often surrounding these huts as to generate fatal disease. These facts are sustained by the best-authenticated testimony, a collection of which is made by Weld's "Slavery as it is," p. 43, et seq.

The same writer (pp. 44, 45) has exhibited the workings of the institution toward the sick and the aged. The miseries they endure

chill us with horror. The issue of the numerous lawsuits to collect for medical services to slaves, shows this to be the legal rule. "Such bills are collectable only when, in the owner's judgment, his interests demanded such services." But this absorption of humanity in pecuniary interest is peculiar to the workings of no part of slavery. It is *wanting in no part of it*. Whole volumes might be swelled by their details. Our limits, however, will admit of only a single specimen for each large class.

Another striking point exhibiting the oppression of the system is COERCED LABOR. We know that God's curse fulminated as from Sinai against "oppressing the hireling in his wages." But even this is not that wholesale robbery which is committed in extorting from the slave the labor of his life. If the oppressor under the theocracy was doomed for retaining a part of his laborer's wages, what depth of damnation must be his who gives not a shadow of wages to his workmen!

We know that wages imply the concurrent action of the laborer and the employer; the receipt, on the part of the former, according to his agreement with the latter.

By equitable wages an equivalent is secured to both parties. This equality of the labor to the wages and the wages to the labor, is the mutual demand of eternal justice. Wages, then, involve volition in both parties and equality on both sides. Both these elements are excluded by slavery. The mere supply of the present animal wants of the laborer can, therefore, never be his *wages*. By the Creator's appointment he is related to the *family*, to society, to government and to those emergencies never wanting in men's history. He is morally bound to provide for these demands. The principle has ever been conceded that laborers deserve a fair proportion of the product of the soil they till, a just reward for the houses and cities they build, and a compensation for the thrift they give to the state.

The Scriptures assume the correctness of this principle in every utterance of malediction against its infraction in withholding wages from the laborer. Who, then, shall measure the audacity of slavery, which overrides the justice of earth and heaven; which coerces millions to labor without the *pretense* to wages; which possesses, controls, and appropriates both the labor and the laborer without obtaining consent or imparting reward! Could the cry of trampled justice, bursting from all the generations of Southern slaves, be satisfied at once, what would remain through all the fertile regions of the sunny South? what of its flocks, herds, carriages, horses, wardrobes, cities, hamlets, banks, exports, imports? what of all

that now distinguishes that land of wealth from the desert through which the savage roams?

The just due of every slave, of which he is annually robbed, is indicated both by the price at which he is sold and the pittance on which he subsists. The cost of supporting each slave a year has been accurately ascertained by Southern committees appointed for the purpose. They have stated it in detail and in aggregate: corn, thirteen bushels, at fifty cents per bushel, \$6 50; clothes and lodging, \$10 00; total, \$16 50. The statement of T. Clay, of Georgia, was based on these reports, in which he affirms "the present economy of the slave system is to get all you can from the slave, and give him as little as will support him in a working condition."

How can this injustice be excused by the allegation that slave labor is unprofitable? If the Divine author of the social system be just, how can it be otherwise than unprofitable? Indeed, the fact that it is so is a proof of its injustice. Were it profitable at the long run for a usurping class to monopolize the services of their neighbors without wages, then would the social system be wrong which worked out such a result.

But who can strike the balance between the slave's earnings and the cost of supporting him, and then doubt whether God be against it? Were slavery beneficial, the North could not now be wealthier than the South, which has all the vast advantages of *soil* and *climate*. The recently-ascertained fact would not exist, that the lands of the North exceed in value those of the South by a greater sum than would purchase the entire slave population. Give to the slave the difference between what he costs his master and what he earns for him, and how soon might his peck of corn a week give place to a well-replenished table, and his single blanket on the ground to a bed of comfort! The fact, therefore, that this great surplus in the earnings of millions leaves the country comparatively poor, proves the intense hostility of the system to God's social arrangement.

Any attempt to show how slavery works the injury of society, would be exceeding the limits assigned us. Nor can this ever demand a protracted discussion. We need simply to know that slavery dooms its victim to ignorance in his person and posterity, to the incapacity of ever making anything his own, and to obey the absolute will of his master under the stimulus of the lash. Knowing simply this, how can we ignore the dire results? The slave code, therefore, must be nugatory, so far as it is out of harmony with the *slave principle*, and the want of the master's corresponding practice toward the slave must peril the institution. For as one cannot control another's rights by force without the most oppressive

violence, how could that system of force survive the disuse of that appropriate means? We have seen that the fundamental principle of the master's proprietary right in the slave involves his right of purchase, of sale, of seizure for debt, of inheritance, of distribution, and of annihilating every family relation; his right of inflicting punishment; of withholding food and clothing; that his right, in fact, sweeps over the entire being of the slave, grasping every moment of his time, every relation of his life, and every faculty of his nature. If any restriction of the master's will be to that very extent an encroachment on his right of property, all laws regulating the treatment of his slave must be at war with the fundamental principle of the institution. The overthrow of this, or the absolute control of him, is necessary in such a sense as to admit of no middle way, no other alternative.

After this rapid glance at the protective slave-laws regarding the food, and labor, and clothing assigned them, let us with even greater brevity advert to the laws regulating their punishment.

Our first selection is from Brenard's 2d Digest, (241,) which says: "In case any person shall willfully cut out the tongue, put out the eyes, castrate, or cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb or member, or shall inflict any other civil punishment OTHER than by whipping or beating, by horsewhip, cow-skin, switch, or small sticks, or by putting irons on, or imprisoning such slave, such person shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds current money." Here are described two classes of cruelties, one prohibited, the other allowed. The exceptions to the prohibited inflictions are fully authorized. No one is found in the forbidden list which would not diminish the slave's pecuniary value. Thus the *chattel* character of the slave was plainly the presiding genius of the enactment. This legal prohibition of these outrages is, in fact, a proclamation of the previous practice of them, and such a wanton destruction of property was not longer to be endured. This statute, affording security to the owner against the rage of the overseer's passion, was by no means a nullity. But the humanity of it is yet to be discovered. It is the admission and authority of huge wrongs perpetrated on "*the defenseless race*." It is a preventive against damaging the article, and not a protection against cruelty to the sufferer. Nothing is definitely prohibited but maiming, mutilating, and murdering; nothing but what injures property. When we scrutinize apparently the most humane slave laws, this same principle is found to underlie them.

Alabama, Missouri, and most of the slave states have enacted laws similar to this we have quoted. Like that they regard the limb and life, the pecuniary value of the article. They aim at protecting

the owner against the violence of his overseer on his slave property, and the family and creditors of the owner against the destructive rage of his own passion. To make *humanity* their *paramount* aim would be treachery to the institution; it would soon dissolve every fetter of the bondman, making him free as the circumambient air he breathes.

A law in the Missouri code (page 309) provides, "that if a slave refuse to obey a lawful command, his master may imprison him." Now who but the master shall determine the *legality* of the command? Not the slave, he is a chattel; not a court, for a fair hearing before a tribunal of a question between the owner and his *property* would be a legal curiosity. As, then, there can be no umpire but the excited master, what a farce is the qualification, *lawful* command! The supreme law of slavery makes his authority absolute, which precludes the possibility of an *unlawful* command. If the virgin be commanded to resign herself to the embrace of her master, (as is often done,) what can there be unlawful in making this peculiar use of his property? It infracts no law in the slave states. The statute, therefore, authorizes him to imprison her for this disobedience. The spirit of this law is indicated by that which allows the master to send his house slaves to an appointed officer, to receive the number of lashes he may specify, without any reference to the offense to be so punished.

Thus the power of the individual is not restricted by that of the magistrate, as by all equitable law; it is extended by that power. His right as a master has made him *ex officio* a judicial functionary, with the powers of a court to award sentence, and to command a public functionary to execute it. This law, then, makes the master prosecutor, judge, and executor in his own case; and, like all others in the slave code, is intended to be in harmony with the fundamental principle. (Wheeler's Law of Slavery, pp. 243, 244.)

This very principle precludes from the slave all *CIVIL rights*. In recognizing slave chattelhood, civil government ignores slave rights. Taking away from the slave self-ownership, it crumbles the last possible foundation of any other right. The slave, then, is related to civil government only in the contingency that he becomes a criminal. It can inflict on him penalty, but can secure to him no right; it can avenge him for no wrong. Such is his strange relation to government, that its eye is never upon him but for infliction. That government has occasionally departed from this anomalous principle of administration is notorious. But never has it recognized human rights in the slave, without just so far infracting the law which made him a slave. How can that principle which leaves him

no right to his bones or muscles, to his soul, body, or spirit—how can that principle leave him any right to property, to reputation, to form contracts, to wife, children, education, or even to religion? What possible advantageous relation could such a being bear to civil government? What protection can he need who can never have anything to be protected? What is law to him which recognizes no one privilege within his reach? What absurdity, then, can be more glaring than to recognize the righteousness of the principle which makes the master, and complain of his cruelties to his slave? The validity of the principle is the justification of its application. If that makes the master absorb all the rights of the slave, how can he be blamable for using what is now his own as he will? What mockery could be more bitter than for a state to declare a slave out of legal personal existence, and then proceed to legislate respecting him as though he were a man? Are not all protective enactments put in the hands of these mere *things*, adding mere insult to oppression? These inconsistencies, however, are only in theory; they leave the system of chattelhood practically in full force. In no land ever blighted by slavery was this system ever so rigidly applied as in this “land of the free.” The colonies of England, France, Spain, Portugal, have all made the African their bondman; but it remained for this great Republic to make his yoke galling beyond endurance.

The very intensity of the antagonism between slavery and all our other institutions, throws the slave power on the defensive, where it is intrenched in the most heartless despotism that ever crushed out the hopes of man. Nowhere else would its abolition involve such a death-struggle. Nowhere else was it compelled to become universal or *extinct*. Nowhere else could mitigating laws be so utterly a burlesque. The crisis we have reached is a prophet's voice, proclaiming with oracular certainty the possibility of but one alternative, which is, either the uprooting of slavery or of all our other institutions standing in its way. It must give or receive a blow at the root. It must live alone amid the trophies of its conquests, or soon find its grave on this Western continent. The obstacles which the slave laws throw in the way of those recovering their freedom who are unjustly enslaved, are invincible. Our want of room crowds out the Southern authorities which abundantly sustain this allegation, and will admit only of a simple reference to a few of them. (Wheeler, p. 6; p. 197; Stroud's Sketch, p. 76; Wheeler's Law of Slavery, p. 394; Brenard's Digest, 229, 30, 260, 24; Revised Code, 482; Stroud, p. 78.)

By consulting these authorities we find the conviction forced upon us that slavery is upheld by suppressing the testimony of its

victims; and especially, that the multitudes of negroes which are kidnapped are retained in bondage by finding every avenue to freedom legally choked. (Wheeler's Law of Slavery, pp. 193, 195.)

The last application of the slave principle which we shall trace is to EDUCATION and *religion*. That slavery closes every avenue of thought which might be opened to its victim is certain, according to its own code of laws. The South well understands that a state of intelligence and chattelhood, like all other opposites, can never co-exist. Almost every slave state has enacted the most rigidly prohibitory laws. Mark the language of these interdicts in the few specimens that follow. South Carolina said: "Be it enacted, that all and every person or persons who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe, in any manner of writing whatsoever hereafter taught to write, shall forfeit £100." (2 Brenard's Digest, 243.) Georgia also inflicts a penalty for the same offense. South Carolina forbids all assemblies of negroes for purposes of mental instruction, and authorizes the magistrates to disperse them with the infliction of twenty lashes "or more, as they shall judge best, to deter them from such unlawful assemblage in future." (Ib., 54, 55.) Virginia enacted (thirty years since) "that any negroes met with others in any house or place, by day or night, for teaching them reading or writing, shall be deemed unlawful assemblies, and shall be punished in the above manner." (Revised Code, 424, 425.) Nor is there less stringency in the legal provisions of corporate towns. Savannah decreed "that any person or persons that teaches any one of color, slave or free, to read or write, or cause such to be taught, shall be subject to a fine of thirty dollars, or to ten days' imprisonment, or to thirty-nine lashes." Still greater severity dictated North Carolina to enact that "if a free black taught a slave to read or write, or gave or sold a book or pamphlet, or even the Bible to him, should receive thirty-nine lashes or imprisonment, or if a white he should be fined \$200." (Jay's Inquiry, p. 136.) Georgia, for such offense, inflicts, \$500, or imprisonment, at the discretion of the court. (Ibid.) Louisiana, for this offense, inflicts imprisonment, and goes on to enact, "that any person using any language in any public discourse, from the bar, bench, stage, or pulpit, or in any other place, or in any private conversation, tending to produce dissatisfaction among slaves, by paper or book, shall be imprisoned or die." (Bent's Com., vol. ii, part 4, p. 168.)

It is evidently a deep-seated conviction of the South, that every beam of intelligence which can fall on the negro mind must be quenched. This is expressed without disguise by Mr. Berry to the

Virginia Legislature, twenty-five years since. "We have," says he, "as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter their minds. If we could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed. They would then be on a level with the beasts of the field, and we should be safe."

Weld (*Slavery as it is*, p. 51) assures us, that in North Carolina the patrols were ordered to search negro houses for books and pamphlets of any kind; Bibles and Hymn Books were particularly specified. (Chap. 7.)

From Brenard's Digest, (261,) Stroud's Sketch, (pp. 93, 94,) it appears that in South Carolina the obstacles to a slave's worship are nearly insuperable. He must previously know that a majority will be white persons; that no person will be there having a warrant to apprehend him; that a justice will not be within three miles of the place. A mistake in either of these contingences would expose the slave to twenty-five lashes.

In Virginia all evening meetings of slaves are unequivocally forbidden. (Jay's Inquiry, p. 137.) The same state fixed a penalty of thirty-nine lashes on a free black for conducting religious meetings by night or day; that any one without a warrant could apprehend him; nor was there one attendant without the same liabilities. (Child's Appeal, p. 67.) This harmonizes with the slave law of Mississippi, excepting the master may allow the slave to attend the white teacher's ministry.

The Presbyterian synod of Kentucky (1834) adopts in its address this expressive language: "The law does not permit free access to the Scriptures; but their ignorance, the natural result of their condition, makes the Bible to them a sealed book. The community will never sustain a missionary among them until they are ripe for emancipation." The synods of the same Church in South Carolina and Georgia (1833) say "there are over two millions in a worse condition than heathen." "The negroes are destitute of the Gospel and ever will be under the present state of things." "Out of the State of Georgia we know of no church built for them. They have no Bible read by their own firesides, no family altars, and when in affliction, sickness, and death, they have none to administer to them the consolations of the Gospel." In harmony with these official reports is the statement of a distinguished Georgian, (Rev. C. C. Jones:) "We cannot cry out against the papists for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, for we withhold the Bible from our servants, and keep them in ignorance of them."

It is not twenty years since, that a Methodist missionary in

South Carolina was induced, by an address from more than four hundred persons, to abandon his mission. They urged the danger of mental improvement and religious instruction; "that oral instruction would lead to a desire to read, and will ultimately revolutionize our civil institutions. . . . Intelligence and slavery have no affinity." Thus must slavery keep its finger on the mental pulse, to watch against the too exciting elements of even religious truth. This is but a single instance among many in which the slave code has a legitimate application, showing that this code must be a vigilant guardian of the principle, or both perish together. This fact, that ignorance and slavery are in eternal wedlock, is the fittest eulogy of the institution. This reveals the inherent unutterable wickedness of the system. If slavery has its only safety in crushing out the image of God, who but a tyrant can advocate it? But while the necessity of these prohibitions is a valid plea, it is also an overwhelming argument for the overthrow of the institution.

Finally, the glance we have taken at the slave code of the South will enable the reader to contrast it with the slave codes of Moses and the patriarchs. The Mosaic servitude was founded on conversion to the true religion; the slavery of the South on violence against all religion. The Jewish usages were subversive of the principle; those of the South corroborative of it. Under the Mosaic system the slave was bought by his master, but never sold by him; the South often buys the slave merely to sell him. Those were reduced to servitude; these are transformed to property. Those had all the rights of the marriage state; these no more than the cattle of the field. The children of the Jewish servant were born free as the air they breathed; those of a Southern slave are loaded with the chains of bondage the moment they open their eyes on the light. To find a prototype of Southern slavery, we must go far beyond the range of Patriarchal and Jewish servitude. We must find such a victim of cruelty as Joseph, seized by violence, sold for money, dragged to a distant land, and doomed to perpetual slavery. It is such bondage from whose depth of wrong come up groans that sound to heaven, and requisitions for blood to which God's ear listens.

Where does the Bible make the slightest reference to this outrage but with the deepest reprobation? Yet the plea of Bible slavery has been urged to enlist God's authority for the most heartless despotism that ever crushed the human form.

To silence forever the plea of Mosaic slavery, let us view it still more narrowly. The lowest class of servants under this system either sold themselves, or consented to their sale. Nor was there a

slave under the theocracy, for whose ultimate freedom its workings did not provide. Its septennial institution liberated two thirds of those in servitude, and its jubilee was proclaimed by trumpets which sundered the bonds of every servant of the nation. What mind ever comprehended the general design of the theocracy, and suspected it could favor all chattel slavery; that it could raise one class to be despots, and sink another class into property. Does not every social provision of this Divine economy preclude the possibility of such an institution? So utterly alien was it to this, that the "national language was without a word exactly expressive of either *slave*, *slavery*, or *slaveholder*." How many ages would slavery survive in the South, should two thirds of all in bondage be septennially set free? How many would now be under the lash, had every fiftieth year since our national existence sounded the trumpet of universal release? Let such, then, as find a vindication of slavery in the Mosaic code, ask themselves this short question: Could slavery subsist in the South under the Hebrew institutions? If not, how can they reason from the one for the other? How can they sustain chattel slavery by Hebrew servitude, when they know that would perish under the economy which sustained this?

The entire unlikeness of the two is made unmistakable by the Hebrew treatment of the foreign slave. He no sooner stepped on the promised land than his fetters dropped from his limbs, never again to bind him.

We beg that it may not escape our readers that the *contrasts* are at *vital* points. That these points are in fierce and everlasting collision. The one originated in compassion for the poor; the other in an avarice which would swallow up the poor. The one was temporary, terminated by the workings of the theocracy; the other was perpetual, stretching through generations. That was voluntary; this compulsory. That left the servant with his manhood; this makes the slave a *thing*. That possessed him with civil rights; this leaves him no rights to protect. The one guaranteed his married relations; the other ignores them as without obligation. That provided for his education; this prohibits education on the severest penalty. That secured freedom to a fugitive from another land; this drags him back to the direst bondage. That recognized the sanctities of domestic relations; this treads them to the earth with ineffable scorn.

These concluding remarks are no attempt at the Bible argument against slavery, but aim simply at suggesting the inevitable conflict between the slave code of Palestine and the slave laws of the South.

ART. IV.—AARON BURR.

1. *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, by MATTHEW L. DAVIS. Harper & Brothers. New-York: 1837.
2. *Life and Times of Aaron Burr*, by J. PARTON. Mason & Brothers. New-York: 1858.

A GREAT number of circumstances combine to attach to the subject of this sketch a peculiar and deep interest. His immediate antecedents were men pre-eminently distinguished, not less for their moral than their intellectual greatness. His own career as a brave and dashing military genius early distinguished him as a man of no ordinary promise. His career at the bar was scarcely less brilliant, taking his position at a single bound, as it were, in the very foremost rank of his profession. His rise to eminence in the political world was as unprecedentedly rapid as his subsequent downfall was sudden and complete. Singular and marked as was the vicissitude of fortune which attended him in later life, it was no less so than the fortitude and heroic courage with which he bore up under it. Possessing intellectual qualities which might have immortalized him among the benefactors of the race, he made himself forever infamous by prostituting them to uses totally inconsistent with an elevated and towering mind. Called into public life in an era remarkable for self-denial and patriotic self-sacrifice, he beheld in the appliances which public favor had placed within his reach only the most available means for gratifying a selfish ambition. Among a phalanx of statesmen illustrious for directness, integrity, fair and open dealing, he preferred ever to gain his object by the tortuous path of stratagem and intrigue. Ostensibly to take satisfaction for a personal offense, but really to silence the tongue of a formidable adversary, he imbrued his hands in the blood of the country's idol. In a community where the sanctities of domestic life were usually revered, he bore the stigma of unscrupulous libertinism; circumstances indeed combining at one time to render him an object of admiration, at another of pity, and finally of ineffable contempt.

The biographers of Mr. Burr, Mr. Davis, editor of his *Memoirs*, and Mr. Parton, author of the *Life and Times of Aaron Burr*, both of whose works we have taken as our text, are each of the opinion that, on the whole, their subject has been by far too severely condemned. That he has been grossly belied, and that by men far beneath him in moral quality, as well as by those in high places, is

doubtless true; but, while the honest attempt on the part of Mr. Parton, in his singularly interesting volume, to show this up, may, to some extent, modify his reputation, as colored by the popular traditions concerning his character, yet so deeply settled have become the convictions of the people in relation to his fatal defects of character, and evidently utter want of high principle, that but little or no permanent change in the public sentiment in this respect can ever be reasonably expected.

Perhaps we may as well add here what more we have to say with regard to the manner in which Mr. Parton has discharged his duties as biographer; and we unhesitatingly pronounce it such as to demand a cordial and emphatic recognition. Contrary to the usual custom, Mr. Parton has not become the advocate or apologist of his subject. Foul and spotted as is the reputation which has clung to him so pertinaciously and so long, he evinces no anxiety to *whitewash* him from it, nor to lose sight of the facts upon which the prevailing opinion is founded. He is by no means blind himself, nor would he, by throwing a shining veil over Burr's natural deformities, attempt to blind others to his radical defects of character. Far from setting him up as a model for good behavior, or becoming, in his zeal for what he deems historical justice, an apologist for base and malignant conduct, he aims only to present some of the most favorable aspects and extenuating circumstances of Burr's career. In a word, we believe he has aimed to treat his subject with strict impartiality, influenced in his judgments by neither favor nor prejudice. He seems, in every case, to have spared no pains to ascertain the unrelenting truth. Every page bears mark of indefatigable labor. The irksome details of political strife had to be carefully sifted; a no small chaos of materials to be reduced to historic order. But he has performed his task with the most evident honesty of purpose; "with the zeal," indeed, "of an antiquary, and the taste of an artist." His style is vigorous and flowing, and marked by originality of expression and illustration. Besides giving us the *Life of Burr*, Mr. Parton has also given us a very graphic transcript of his times, sketching at length the rise and progress of those political movements in which he acted so conspicuous a part, particularly of that which resulted in the overthrow of the Federal power, or influence of the Federal party, in the United States, in 1800; truly one of the most important passages in our political history. But let us proceed with our inquest upon Colonel Aaron Burr.

This notable character was born February 6th, 1756, in Newark, New-Jersey. His father, Rev. Aaron Burr, then president of

Nassau Hall, at Princeton, was a man celebrated alike for his erudition, eloquence, and piety. His mother, the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, the distinguished New-England metaphysician and divine, was likewise well known as a woman of fine culture and deep, fervent piety. As the pious mother of Augustine, while he was yet an infidel in his principles, and a libertine in his conduct, wept bitter tears, and daily petitioned Heaven in behalf of her wayward son, so Mrs. Burr, though she lived hardly to hear her child lisp his mother tongue, prayed daily that, should God spare his life, he might be guided into all truth, and serve faithfully the God of his fathers. In after years, when his propensity for intrigue became notorious, he was often faithfully warned that he was a "child of many prayers," that the petitions of a pious mother to the throne of grace would yet "avail much," either for or against him. Of the natural guardianship and protection of both these parents he was deprived at the early age of twenty-eight months. His youth was spent in the family of Timothy Edwards, his maternal uncle. While here he used frequently "to manifest his impatience of wholesome restraint by taking his bit between his teeth, snapping his finger at the tutor in charge, and running away."

At the age of twelve he entered Princeton College. Though prepared to enter junior, in consideration of his youth, it is said, he was obliged to commence sophomore, a necessity to which he submitted with very bad grace. His time in college he devoted at first diligently to hard study, but subsequently more to desultory pursuits. He graduated, however, at the age of sixteen, receiving the highest academic honors which were in the hands of the faculty to bestow. Burr early formed many correct habits, both in regard to diet and intellectual labor, to which he firmly adhered through all his life. He never gambled, was never intemperate. Indeed to his severe regimen and regular habits in other respects, we feel warranted in attributing much of that physical and intellectual force which enabled him, during his protracted life, to endure such excessive fatigue of both body and mind.

During Burr's college course, a "revival of religion" occurred among the students. Young Burr was somewhat awakened, and went so far finally as to talk with his venerable president, Dr. Witherspoon, in relation to matters of religion, the revival then in progress, etc. Whereupon the reverend doctor assured him, that in his opinion it was not *true rational religion*, but *fanaticism* that was operating upon the minds of his friends. We never hear anything more of his inquiring "what he should do to be saved."

We next find him spending some time by invitation with a friend of his father, the noted Dr. Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Conn., who, it appears, was anxious that, after the fashion of his antecedents, he should decide upon the ministry as his profession. After duly considering the matter, however, he came to the conclusion that he was possessed of none of the necessary "gifts and graces" to qualify him for, or lead him to suppose that he was "called" to, that important work. Another conclusion of no little importance he arrived at, also, during this sojourn with his venerable friend, and that was, to use his own language, "that the road to heaven was open alike to all," the Westminster Catechism, and the instructions of his revered friend, to the contrary notwithstanding. It seems that not even the iron logic of his distinguished ancestor was sufficient to satisfy his mind that God "chose whom he would to eternal life, and rejected whom he pleased, leaving them eternally to perish, and be everlastingly tormented in hell." His ingenuous mind revolted from an idea so odious and repulsive, so utterly repugnant to all his best moral instincts. In a word, he rejected, as he always maintained, after calm and full investigations, the Gospel according to *Jonathan Edwards*, rejected it completely and forever.

We next find him stopping with his brother-in-law, Judge Tappan Reeve, who had married his only sister, and studying constitutional history and military science. Burr seems to have been a natural born soldier. He always felt that he possessed not only the necessary genius and skill, but had pent up within him all the enthusiasm and ambition for military distinction necessary to insure success, did but circumstances occur favorable in his development in that direction. Nor had he long to wait. The shedding of his countrymen's blood just at this juncture, at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker's Hill, brought him at once from his retirement, from the companionship of his musty tomes, into the field of active duty. He felt that the time had now arrived for him to distinguish himself, "to make his mark." So, although only just entering his twentieth year, a mere stripling in appearance, at an age when most boys are just beginning to study in earnest, and to entertain some of the "self-respecting views of manhood," we find him tendering his services in defense of American liberty, and panting for glory upon the battle-field.

In July, 1775, he joined the army at Cambridge. Although at first disgusted with the want of discipline and good order that prevailed among the troops, we soon find him, in spite of the remonstrances of friends at home, leaving a sick-bed to accompany Gen-

eral Arnold through the trackless, hideous wildernesses of Maine and Canada; traversing, late in the season, precipitous mountains, thick woods, deep and almost impenetrable swamps and morasses, on his famous but bootless expedition to Quebec. On this expedition Burr rendered signal service to Arnold, especially by proceeding in advance, although at the imminent hazard of his life, with a verbal communication from Arnold to Montgomery. This mission he so well and satisfactorily accomplished, that he was immediately appointed by General Montgomery as one of his aids, with the rank of captain. In this capacity he served, displaying astonishing skill and intrepidity, during that disastrous assault upon Quebec in which the brave Montgomery fell. Burr was within a few feet of the General when the latter was struck by the fatal shot. He caught him up in his arms, and, in a dying condition, bore him from the battle-field. It was quite enough for a youth of twenty, however ambitious for military distinction, to have it caught upon the breath of fame, and whispered through all the land, that he had sustained in his youthful arms the dying Montgomery. Indeed the *éclat* which he, yet a beardless youth, acquired first by this adventurous march through the trackless desert of our Northeastern wilds, but more especially by being known as the chivalrous aide-de-camp whose arms supported the dying hero of Quebec, not less than his subsequent military exploits at Monmouth, Long Island, and Westchester, in all his after life gathered round him hosts of friends and admirers, and distinguished him as a man of no ordinary military prowess.

Soon after the death of General Montgomery, Burr was made brigade-major under Arnold. With him, however, he remained only a few months. Some, by the way, may be curious to know what was his estimation of Arnold. Concerning him he used to hold the following language: "Though amid the excitements of battle a madman, ready for any deed of valor, he has not yet a particle of moral courage, is utterly unprincipled, has no love of country nor self-respect to guide him, is not to be trusted anywhere but under the eye of a superior." Contrary to Arnold's express commands, he soon left him in Canada, and proceeded to New-York. Upon his return to this city, he at once received and accepted an invitation to become a member of Washington's military family. But so repugnant to his tastes were the orderly habits and cautious temperament of the wise chief, that they seemed to have filled him with profound disgust. Burr here, for some reason, contracted for the general a dislike which he never afterward overcame; while Washington, on the other hand, perceiving but too well Burr's want of high principle, very

naturally distrusted him from the very first, and never after could be induced to repose in him any great confidence, or intrust him with any high responsibility.

In the beginning of the next July he was appointed aid-de-camp to General Putnam, a rank with which he was better pleased. The distinguished part which Major Burr took, and the efficient services which he rendered in the retreat of our army under Washington, from Long Island and New-York, established his character for intrepidity and military skill. His gallant conduct at Monmouth, during which battle his horse was shot under him, rendered him no less conspicuous than it had before done at Quebec. Hereupon he is appointed lieutenant-colonel. We follow him next in his delicate and difficult command on the lines of Westchester; again as ordered by Baron DeKalb to West Point; as designated by Washington to take charge of the Tories in behalf of Governor Clinton, and so on from one important post of duty and labor to another, until at length his health gives way, his constitution is shattered, and he is forced to lay down his arms, to sheathe his sword, and abandon forever his hopes of military glory. The exposure and fatigue from which he suffered on the day and night of the battle of Monmouth, seriously impaired his health. He never fairly recovered from their effects. His medical and other friends, therefore, whose opinions he felt himself bound to respect, expressed it as their conviction that he could never endure the fatigues of another campaign. So on the 10th of March, 1779, at the age of twenty-three, having already won the reputation of being one of the most efficient and gallant officers of the American Revolution, he tendered his resignation to the commander-in-chief. In this connection it were proper enough to say, that though Washington manifestly considered Burr destitute of principle, he yet as evidently respected him as a soldier, gave repeated evidence of entire confidence in his gallantry, his persevering industry, his judgment, and his discretion.

Colonel Burr now returns to private life and the study of the law. After pursuing his studies one year only, he was admitted, though with much opposition, to the bar at Albany, at which place he commenced practice. On the ensuing 2d of July he was married to Mrs. Theodosia Prevost, widow of General Prevost, of the British army, a very intelligent and accomplished lady. Up to this point, it may be well to state in passing, Mr. Parton expresses it as his opinion that Colonel Burr "had not been profligate, had not yet had one amour of a criminal kind, nor incurred an obligation which he had not discharged."

As soon as peace was declared he removed to New-York, where, by unremitted attention to business, he soon found himself crowded with clients, accumulating property, and taking the lead in his profession. His remarkable success and rapid elevation as a professional man, no doubt, were owing, in part at least, to the favorable auspices under which he commenced his practice in New-York. It was just at the close of the Revolution. Tory lawyers were put under the "ban of the empire," while the Whigs, of course, were exalted, in point of privilege, in a corresponding degree. He was, moreover, descended from a family, the prestige of whose name had its influence in bringing him into notice. He had retired from the army with distinguished honor; these, united with talents which alone would have signalized him under any circumstances, combined to bring him at once prominently before the public, and enable him to take rank among the first lawyers of his day. His time was now divided only between his profession and his beautiful home at Richmond Hill. Indeed his beloved wife, his idol of a daughter, and his many friends, now engross a no small share of his thoughts. No man seemed to cherish warmer domestic attachments, to be more devotedly, fondly attached to his family than Aaron Burr. "The letters that passed between himself and wife, after they had been several years married, read like the passionate outpouring of Italian lovers in the first month of their betrothal." But in an especial manner was he devotedly fond of his daughter. However lost he might have become in his subsequent life, to all that was loyal or holy; "however poor, bereaved, contemned he may have been, with the penalties of debt and treason hanging over his head, and himself an outlaw and fugitive in the earth, one holy, loyal sentiment lingered in his perverted soul; love for the fair, gifted, gentle being who called him father. In his later life the only disinterested sympathy his letters breathe is for her. Indeed the feeling and sense of duty which they manifest, offer a remarkable contrast to the parallel record of a life of unprincipled schemes and heartless amours." Tradition says that this daughter was once complaining because she was not as pretty as some others. He reproved her gently, thus: "My daughter, would you become more beautiful, seek, then, sweetness of temper, a tender, loving heart; let thus a beautiful spirit inform those features, and you will possess a beauty the power of which is infinitely beyond that which you now covet." She afterward became not only a cultivated and accomplished lady in the fashionable sense, but a woman of true refinement, possessing many and rare virtues, and beauty besides. Yet how deep is our regret, that in teaching his gifted child so much, he yet taught

her so little. Upon the loss of her son, she writes to her father thus: "Whichever way I turn is anguish; I think even *Omnipotence could give me no equivalent for my boy—no, none, none!*" Alas that she had never been pointed to a God in whom she might have put her trust! Then might she have counted *all* her earthly losses gain. Indeed Aaron Burr's affection for his daughter was the great redeeming fact of his career and character. For her it was he seemed to live. In her were centered all his thoughts and hopes. And the very last thing which, upon his death-bed, he surrendered up, was the portrait of his dear Theodosia. But to return:

"During these early years there was not a spot upon the brightness of his good name. A rising lawyer, devoted to business, avoiding politics, happy at home, honored abroad, welcome in the most refined and elevated circles, and shining in them with all the luster of a striking person, graceful manners, and a polished wit, who would have predicted for him anything but a career of still increasing brilliancy, a whole lifetime of honorable exertion, and a name that would have been distinction to all who bore or should inherit it."

Colonel Burr, however, was at length induced to enter public life; was elected a member of the state Legislature by the Whigs, in the spring of 1784; was a member during two sessions, taking, on all great questions, an active and decided part. He distinguished himself first, by advocating the passage of a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State of New-York, adding an amendment, which was lost, that slavery should be entirely abolished after a day specified. Secondly, and particularly, did he bring himself into notice, and establish his reputation for firmness, sagacity and discrimination, by his unsuccessful opposition to the so-called "Mechanics' Bill," which was afterward pronounced unconstitutional on the same grounds upon which Burr had based his objections. So great was Governor Clinton's confidence in his wisdom and integrity, that, though politically opposed to him, he appointed him Attorney-General of the State, which office Colonel Burr accepted in September, 1789. While serving in this capacity, he reared for himself a lasting monument of his patience, juridical wisdom, and skill, by his masterly report as chairman of a board of commissioners appointed by the Legislature to examine the various claims held against the State for services rendered, or injuries sustained, during the Revolution. Though the task was one of great delicacy, and surrounded by incalculable difficulties, yet in so masterly and exhaustive a manner did he accomplish it, that the report met with no opposition whatever, and formed the basis thereafter of all settlements with public creditors on account of the war.

On the 19th of January, Colonel Burr was appointed a senator of

the United States. Until about this time he was little known as a partisan politician; now he seems to have committed himself fully to the troublous element of politics; a step which his biographer regards as "the spring of all his woes"—the great mistake of his life. In Congress Burr fully sustained his reputation as a man of great force of character, firmness, industry, and sagacity. The Journals of the Senate afford ample evidence that he was an industrious and efficient member of that body. It is true that he felt called upon, upon every favorable opportunity, to stigmatize Washington's doctrine of non-intervention—the doctrine of the administration—as "cold and repulsive neutrality." But this only shows that he was afflicted with some of the "fast" notions entertained and advocated occasionally by legislators of a later day. In 1792 Governor Clinton nominated him as a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, and thus, in the short space of three years, he was advanced from a private station to a seat in the national councils, and to the highest honor of the bar, and very soon after to a competition with Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Clinton, for the presidency itself. This point he reached when he was but thirty-six years of age, and that without having originated or being the exponent of any particular political idea or measure; without, indeed, being fully committed to either of the two leading parties.

Wherein lay the cause of Colonel Burr's sudden elevation and advancement, and that over the head of longer tried and more experienced politicians, in a state where the leading families had for a century nearly monopolized the offices of honor and emolument, it is not an easy matter to determine; indeed it was as much an enigma to his cotemporaries as to more recent writers of political history. Some thought it was owing to the prestige of his father and grandfathers' names, among whom was John Adams; others, like Hamilton, attributed it to his unequaled wire-pulling; some thought it was his military reputation; others called it luck. His own circle of friends of course regarded his elevation as the legitimate result of a superiority to most of his rivals, in knowledge, culture, and talents. Doubtless *all* these were causes of his success. But whatever may have been the cause, we think the fact of his success deserving of consideration, especially as it demonstrates the confidence which the democracy thus far reposed in him. Another transaction, which occurred during his senatorial career, also clearly demonstrates this. Colonel Burr was recommended by the Senate to Washington, as a substitute for Morris, who, on account of his monarchical views and opposition to the revolution then in progress

there, had become extremely odious to the people, as minister plenipotentiary to the French Republic. To Madison and Monroe, who were delegated by the Senate to confer with the President, he replied that he made it a rule of life never to recommend or nominate any person for a high and responsible station in whose integrity he had no confidence; that wanting that confidence in Colonel Burr, he could not nominate him. So great, however, was the confidence of the Senate, not only in his capacity, but in his integrity, that they remonstrated with the President. He, however, remained inflexible. Monroe was nominated in his stead. Colonel Burr did not accept the appointment tendered him by Governor Clinton, as Judge of the Supreme Court. His term of office as senator expired March 4, 1797. In 1798 he was again elected to the Assembly from the city and county of New-York. It was in this year, a year marked by more political virulence than any other since the independence of the country, that the foundations were laid for the overthrow of the Federal power in the United States. To this end, and thus to the first triumph of his party, no man, perhaps, contributed more than Aaron Burr. It was he who taught the democracy how to conquer. It is true that it devolved upon Thomas Jefferson to furnish the *ideas*; yet it was extremely doubtful whether those ideas would soon have been realized in our government, been carried to their practical results, had it not been for the *tactics* of Aaron Burr. A new president was to be elected. The prospect was gloomy; all places of high trust and positions of influence were under the patronage of the administration. Many of the city banks, it was said, were influenced in their discounts by party considerations. It was evident, however, that as went the State of New-York, so would be decided the contest through the whole Union; and as the city of New-York decided, so would the state. Colonel Burr therefore set himself desperately about maturing his plans and perfecting his organizations so as to secure the city of New-York. He was successful. Although in 1799 the Federal party as usual had been triumphant, the year following returned a Democratic Legislature. The star of the Federal party, which from the foundation of the government had been in the ascendant, had now set forever. Presidential electors of the Democratic party were appointed. Burr's services were appreciated by the democracy. He was appointed on the ticket with Mr. Jefferson, for the offices of president and vice-president of the United States. By the Constitution, as it was originally adopted, the person who had the greatest number of votes, if a majority of the whole number given, was president, and the person having the next highest number was vice-president. When the ballots were examined, it was

ascertained that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr were the two highest candidates, and that their votes were equal. So near came Aaron Burr being the chief executive of the United States. The House of Representatives, after a contest producing the most implacable and bitter animosities, decided in favor of Jefferson. Mr. Jefferson was therefore declared president, and Aaron Burr vice-president elect of the United States.

Although it was painfully evident that Jefferson cherished a mortal dislike for Burr, and subsequently left no stone unturned to blast his reputation and ruin his prospects, arising doubtless from the above named contest for the presidency, yet it is equally apparent that Thomas Jefferson could never have taken that distinguished seat but for the eminent services, the indefatigable labors of Colonel Aaron Burr. "This presidential contest, also," says Mr. Davis, "afforded the enemies of Colonel Burr an opportunity to lay deep and broad a foundation from which to assail him with the battering-rams of detraction, falsehood, and calumny; and from that day, until he was driven into exile from the land of his fathers, he was pursued with an intolerance as relentless as the grave. At the height of his popularity, influence, and glory in 1801, we find him, as the consequence of this intolerance and persecution, before the close of 1804, suspected, condemned, derided, prostrated; and all," adds Mr. Davis, "without any wrong act on the part of the vice-president." That he was basely, cruelly belied and traduced; accused falsely of intriguing and bargaining with the opposite party to promote his own election, there probably can be but little doubt. But does not the very fact that he was thus confidently assailed, and persistently followed up with detraction and calumny, indicate that his enemies were aware that there was some fatal defect in his character, and that therefore his reputation could be easily undermined and destroyed? Does not the fact that he was so easily sacrificed, clearly show that his hold upon the confidence and the affections of the people was slender and precarious; that he really never had any place in their heart; that, though indeed he might have committed no overt wrong act, yet there must have been something "rotten in Denmark?" Though we by no means deem Aaron Burr, politically speaking, to have been altogether the dark, dangerous, and dishonest man he impressed others as being, and which his enemies succeeded but too well in making him out, yet there must have been in him an element, a basis of the unscrupulous, without which the slanders of his adversaries could never have taken effect. Perhaps the secret of his fall was, that as a politician he never had any *real* basis, such as great ideas, strong convictions, important original measures, a

grand policy; in short, as Honor was his only god, so it was but too apparent that rather for personal reasons than any great desire to promote the public weal, it was that he had turned politician. Resting upon such a sandy foundation, taken in connection with the fact that his peculiar gifts were not of a nature to charm the multitude, and it ceases to be so much a wonder that he was so easily prostrated.

The animosities, then, to which this presidential contest gave rise, seem to have fixed the destiny of Burr. From this period his direction is downward.

It was during his term of vice-presidency that his famous duel with General Alexander Hamilton was fought. Briefly let us state some of the circumstances which led to that melancholy affair. Hamilton and Burr were among the most notable men of their day, and may be regarded as rather the exponents of their respective parties. Hamilton was a violent, headstrong partisan, yet the basis of his character was noble and disinterested; no man more honorable in his feelings than he; none more generous or more kind. Burr, on the other hand, ever scrupulous with regard to infringing the rights of others, was heartless in the matter of demanding satisfaction when any unfortunately trespassed upon his own. That Hamilton was in the habit of pursuing Burr with denunciation and abuse, none who know the former as the partisan politician will for a moment doubt. Hamilton himself admits that he had said things which bore hard upon both his public and private life. During the campaign for the election of governor of the State of New-York, in 1804, in which Burr was sustained by a wing of the Democratic party as a candidate for that office, a slander was perpetrated under the sanction and cover of General Hamilton's name, which seems to have stung Burr to the quick. Burning under a sense of his wrongs, he demanded of Hamilton an unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expressions which would warrant the assertions that had been publicly made by his friends. Hamilton, for obvious reasons, was not prepared to do either. If Colonel Burr would specify the particular offensive epithet which he was reported to have used, he would make all due explanations. But Colonel Burr would accept nothing less than a general disavowal of any intention on his part in his various conversations to convey any impression derogatory to his honor. Hamilton, while of course he could make no such general disavowal, felt himself debarred from making even those general concessions which he might otherwise have made, by the cold and peremptory manner in which he was addressed. A challenge was the result. On Wednesday, July 12, at seven o'clock

A. M., the parties met at Wehawken, on the Jersey shore. General Hamilton fell mortally wounded at the first fire, was conveyed home in a dying condition, and expired the next day about two o'clock.

That which gives this transaction on Colonel Burr's part quite all the atrocity of murder, is the coolness and deliberate determination, the stern heartlessness with which he pursued his victim. He no doubt had his provocations; felt that he had; but while we do not yet believe them sufficient, or of a nature to justify, according to the world's own "code," the challenge, or withdraw from that transaction the charge of murder, yet had they been, he, by his apparently heartless and revengeful conduct, has forever forfeited the sympathies of his fellows. Yet was this duel even more fatal to himself than to the dead. From that hour forth he wandered a fugitive and outlaw in the earth. In short, the fate of both these men affords a melancholy example of the folly and sin of sacrificing principle to false notions of honor, of substituting pride for honesty, and regarding the speech of people rather than the unequivocal commands of God. This duel, however, was not altogether without its beneficial effects. There can be no doubt but that it served to rouse the mind of the free states to a sense of the execrableness of the practice of dueling, and rendering it forever thereafter entirely odious.

Colonel Burr, much to his surprise, finding that the disastrous results of his meeting with Hamilton had stirred up such a storm of popular indignation against him as to render it quite impracticable to remain at home, escaped to the Southern states, where he remained until the next session of Congress, when he again appeared in Washington to resume his duties as president of the Senate. The last act of importance performed by Colonel Burr in this capacity was to preside in the case of Judge Samuel Chase, who was impeached before the Senate of the United States for high crimes and misdemeanors. Here Colonel Burr evinced all his accustomed promptitude, energy, and dignity. His impartiality and fairness won for him the applause of his opponents as well as friends. It was said of him, indeed, that "he conducted with the dignity and impartiality of an angel, but with the rigor of a devil."

On the fourth of March, 1805, his term of office expired, and he retired forever from public life. On the 2d he took his leave of the Senate. "It had been for some days upon my mind," he says, "to say something upon that occasion, but had nothing prepared." His address, however, was one of great power, and produced an unexpected and profound sensation. The whole Senate, embracing of course many bitter political enemies, were in tears, and so un-

manned, it is said, that it was some time before they sufficiently recovered themselves to come to order and elect a president *pro tem*. In the conclusion of this address occur these memorable words: "This house is a sanctuary—a citadel of law, of order, of liberty—and it is here, it is *here*, in this exalted refuge, *HERE*, if anywhere, will resistance be made to the storms of political phrensy and the silent arts of corruption; and if the Constitution be ever destined to perish by the sacrilegious hands of the demagogue or usurper, which God avert, its *expiring agonies* will be witnessed on this floor."

The last passage in the life of Colonel Burr, of any particular public interest, is that of his apprehension and trial for treason. For several years previous to 1805, Burr had entertained the project as entirely feasible and practicable, of revolutionizing Mexico. At that time, 1805, it was generally thought that a war with Spain was inevitable. In anticipation of that war Burr began making preparations for an expedition into Mexico, with a view of inducing the people of that province to improve that opportunity afforded them of throwing off the yoke, and declaring themselves independent of the mother country. But in case no such war should be declared, it was his design to settle upon a tract of land which he had purchased, lying in the then Mississippi Territory. But hard, had Burr commenced active operations, before rumors were put afloat and industriously circulated that Aaron Burr was raising an army in the United States for the express purpose of making a filibuster descent upon Mexico, with a view of wresting it from Spain, a country with which we were then at peace. Nor did these rumors stop here. It was soon whispered that he had hostile intentions against the United States, contemplated the separation of the whole Mississippi Valley from the general government, and establishing there a new realm with himself at the head. Strange as it may appear, these rumors, so utterly without foundation, for his whole force at no time exceeded one hundred and twenty men, immediately struck terror to every heart. Burr seemed for a time abandoned by his most confidential and devoted friends. Even his son-in-law, Governor Alston, of South Carolina, dared hardly to communicate with him. The result was, Colonel Burr was at once arrested as a traitor, transported from Mississippi to Richmond, and, after enduring outrages and cruelty almost beyond description, was brought to trial before the Circuit Court of the United States, Judge Marshall presiding. After a long and tedious trial, in which all the influences, instrumentalities, and means which executive power and patronage could control, that legal skill could invent or eloquence sum-

mon, were employed to secure his conviction, he was acquitted—acquitted not through any clemency or partiality of his judges, but because his own acuteness as a lawyer, and the adroitness with which he managed his defense, enabled him not only to establish incontestably his own innocence, but to thwart the foul designs of those who clamored for his blood.

Not long before Burr's death, he was asked if he ever seriously designed the separation of the Union. He replied with indignation, "that he would as soon have thought of taking possession of the moon, and informing his friends that he intended dividing it up between them." While Texas, aided by thousands of American citizens, was struggling for her independence, he used to say: "Alas, I was thirty years too soon. What was treason in me thirty years ago is patriotism now." This illustrates what was probably his true political character. He was a filibuster.

The remainder of Colonel Burr's strangely eventful history is soon told. Conceiving that, in view of the personal and political rancor which the death of General Hamilton and various other causes had excited against him, a temporary absence was desirable, after taking every precaution to keep his movements a profound secret, he sailed from New-York on the 7th of June for England. "Like a criminal he fled from the country which had once delighted to honor him—from a city in whose counsels his voice had been potential, and of whose society he had been esteemed an ornament." Rumor, however, "with her thousand tongues," had preceded him. The English government distrusted him. After a few pleasant months, therefore, spent with his favorite master in social and political science, Bentham, he was obliged to flee to the continent, and finally took his way to Paris. After experiencing there a varied fortune, often sunk in poverty and distress, during five years, insulted by both American officials and French, Napoleon, then at the height of his power and glory, giving no heed to his petitions for passports and protection, although his brother Joseph, now just placed upon the Spanish throne, in years ago, when an exile and fugitive in his turn from his native land, had been an old guest at Richmond Hill, he finally secured the necessary papers and recommendations to secure him a passage home, and arrived in Boston June 8th, 1812.

What a comment this upon the instability, the uncertainty of human affairs! Here was the ex-vice-president of the United States reduced so low as to barely eke out a scanty subsistence in a foreign capital, and beg for the paltriest of favors from insolent and purse-proud officials. So true is it, as Juvenal says:

Turba Remi sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et edit
Damnatos.

Immediately upon his return from Europe, or as soon after as relentless creditors would let him, he opened an office, and commenced again the practice of law in the city of New-York. The distinguished reputation with which he retired from the bar in 1801 secured for him at once an extensive and lucrative practice. In this pursuit he passed the remainder of his days.

His wife having now been long dead, and despairing of ever living to redeem the glory he had lost, his thoughts and affections more than ever center in his daughter and her son, Aaron Burr Alston. These were all he had left in the wide world to love or live for. Judge, then, of the sorrow that must have pierced his soul, as he learned, by almost the first mail after his return from Europe, that that fair-haired, intellectual boy, for whom he had felt such constant and increasing anxiety, to whom he was looking to redeem all his own glory and transmit down the mingled blood of Alston and Burr, was indeed dead! Desolating in its effects as was this blow, it was, alas, to be soon followed by another, if possible, still more so. Partly with a view of counteracting the effects of her own deep-settled grief and a disease which was fast wasting her away, and partly to afford her father some consolation under their mutual bereavement, Mrs. Alston left her Southern home, by ship, about the 1st of January, 1813, on this journey. As if to complete for the old man the tragic antithesis of destiny, this beloved and gifted daughter, she who had shed such an angelic ray upon his dark career, was never heard from more. "The agonies of suspense now endured by the husband and father, how eager letters were written by each to tell the other she had not yet arrived, the weary waiting for the mail, the daily hope and daily despair," can of course be neither imagined nor described. Gradually a fixed and settled gloom overshadowed the husband's mind, and when at length the crushing but inexorable conviction could be no longer resisted that his beloved Theodosia too, as well as his son, had passed from his arms and sight forever, that his beloved wife had probably found her final resting-place in the coral caves of old ocean, he drooped and died, the victim of a "weight of woe" which time could neither subdue nor change. But Aaron Burr *still lived*. Though bolt after bolt in rapid succession from the skies had scathed and desolated him, he yet stood alone—majestic in his loneliness, sublime in his desolation. Severed now indeed he was from the human race, without a single object in earth or heaven to place his hopes upon, yet he murmured not, but sternly, calmly continued to walk the earth,

until his head was blanched with the snows of four-score winters. Never very social in his habits, he became less and less so as years wore on. Though not morose in his disposition, he yet felt no sympathy with the living world about him, asked for none.

"He goes to the river side,
Nor hook nor line hath he,
He stands in the meadows wide,
Nor gun nor scythe to see.
With none has he to do,
And none to seek him,
Nor men below,
Nor spirits dim ;"

but in fearful, yet uncomplaining wretchedness, stands to expiate his folly and his sin, conscious that "the thorns he's reaping, though they tear him, and he bleeds, are of the tree he planted." He reminds us of the naked grandeur of the stripped winter oak, torn, perhaps, by lightning and tempest, yet bearing proudly up against the sky, solitary, desolate. Aaron Burr died in the eighty first-year of his age, September 14, 1836, and was "gathered to his fathers." He was buried according to his request, as nearly as possible at the feet of his father and grandfather, in the college burial-place at Princeton, with the honors of war, and was followed to his last home by the professors and students of the college, together with several of the clergy and a large concourse of citizens and friends.

Courage and fortitude were the darling virtues of Colonel Burr. He was a man of imperturbable coolness, self-possession, and presence of mind. He never suffered himself to be affected by sudden change of fortune for weal or woe, but cultivated, both in himself and others, a soldierly hardness of character. He was a remarkable business man. He has been called, from his irrepressible activity, "business incarnate." Whatsoever he undertook withal he had a remarkable faculty of bringing to pass. In his diet he was a Spartan, abstemious, temperate. Colonel Burr was generous to a fault, a trait of character attested by the liberal distribution of his own private means among his more destitute companions in arms during the war, until the ample patrimony which he had inherited was quite exhausted; by the crowd of beggars that always thronged his door; by the fact that he always had one or more indigent young men or women with him, in whose education he took a deep interest, one of the most distinguished of whom, perhaps, was the late Vanderlyn, whose "Landing of Columbus," painted for one of the panels in the rotunda at the capitol in Washington, attests at once the genius of the artist and the generosity of his benefactor. Yet his generosity

was not of that nobler kind allied with and made possible through frugality. He freely gave away that with which he ought to have paid his debts, or made provision against the day of his necessities. Whatever other bad qualities Burr had, and they were many, it is said of him that no man would go further to alleviate the sufferings of another, or make greater sacrifices to promote the interests of a friend. He was, moreover, passionately fond of children, and mingled often in their innocent sports. However hard his lot, he never repined. However much he had been the victim of injury and injustice, he never denounced any one.

He came before us first in public life as a *soldier*. As such we found him brave, indefatigable, sacrificing; as an officer, efficient, sagacious, prompt, ranking at the early age of twenty-two among the first. It is true that he seemed to be actuated rather by a love of, and ambition for military glory, than an exalted sentiment of patriotism; yet we are not to forget that in that service he sacrificed his health and patrimony. Though but a boy in appearance, it is said that his presence among his troops was a sufficient pledge of good order, and if at the head of his regiment, almost an equal pledge of victory. He was a rigid disciplinarian, a consummate tactician, and indefatigable in the pursuance of this plan. To what heights of distinction he might have attained, had not his health failed him, we can only conjecture. Mr. Parton says: "Had his Mexican expedition succeeded, I think he had it in him to run as successful a career in Spanish America, as did Napoleon in Europe."

As a *lawyer* Colonel Burr cannot, according to the acute analysis of his biographer, claim a place among the greatest of his profession. Yet as a lawyer of the second rank, as a skillful *practitioner*, rather than one particularly erudite or profound, he thinks his equal never lived.

As a *speaker* he was colloquial in his style, dignified and impressive in manner, resembling, says Mr. Davis, "an elevated tone of conversation, by which a man, without any seeming effort, pours his ideas in measured and beautiful language into the minds of some small select circle, dislodging all they may have previously entertained upon a given subject, and fixing his own there by a magical fascination, which when he chose he could make almost irresistible." His speeches were usually argumentative, short, and pithy. His appeals, whether to judge or jury, were sententious and lucid. No flights of fancy, no parade of impassioned sentences, were to be found in them. Never vehement or declamatory, he was always conciliating and persuasive. Whatever he had to say he spoke boldly, and plainly, and deliberately. Too dignified ever to be a

trifler, his sarcasm rarely created a laugh, but told powerfully upon those who provoked it. It is not a little strange, in view of the signal success which always attended his oratorical efforts, that he should feel, as he has been frequently heard to express himself, that he was no orator, having never spoken with pleasure or even self-satisfaction. Indeed he seems never to have been *proud* of anything save his military career. What he achieved in law or politics was as nothing in his eyes in comparison with his deeds as a soldier of the Revolution. But at any rate, judging from results, but few men could be called more eloquent. Unfortunately no complete or authentic specimen of his eloquence has ever come down to us.

As a *statesman*, less philosophical and profound than Hamilton, far less comprehensive and general in his views than Jefferson, he was yet sagacious, discriminating, and practical, possessing withal an administrative ability rarely equaled. He belonged, in a word, to that class of men whom we denominate shrewd, sagacious politicians, rather than profound statesmen. Originating no ideas himself, no man knew better how to invent the necessary tactics to *carry out* the ideas of another. Jefferson said of him that, "he was a great man in little things, but really a small one in great ones." One of the truest remarks Hamilton ever made of his antagonist was, "that his talents were better adapted to a particular plot than a great and wise drama."

Colonel Burr's *mind*, then, cannot be said to have been a comprehensive one, but rather acute, analytical, and discriminating, quick to conceive things in detail, but not calculated to entertain masses of ideas. Distinguished as was Mr. Burr as a polemic, "great and brilliant" as Mr. Parton thinks he would have become as an instructor of youth, we agree with Mr. Davis in thinking that his peculiar intellectual gifts, together with his courtly and fascinating manners, pre-eminently fitted him for diplomacy. While it is altogether idle and vain to speculate upon what he might have become had Washington yielded to the importunities of Madison, Monroe, and others, and appointed him minister to the French Republic, it is yet not only possible, but quite probable, that, standing as he then did in the original brightness of his character, he would have reflected honor upon the country, shed new luster on his own name, and prepared the way for a destiny widely different from what his was.

The morals of Colonel Burr, as is well known, were most corrupt. Believing in the Bible, he yet practically discarded it as useless. Disgusted with the ascetic features of Puritanism, reared under a

type of religion that did not engage his affections nor satisfy his intellect, he seems to have turned his back upon the faith of his fathers altogether; with the rash hand of impatience to have thrown away the sweet with the bitter, all the wheat with the chaff, and to have degenerated into an unnatural example of Voltairian skepticism and Chesterfieldian vanity and falseheartedness. From the beginning to the end of his career we find no trace of moral principle. He never, apparently, felt any compunction of conscience for whatever he may have done; yet, in justice to him, let it be said, he was no foul-mouthed scoffer at religion. His integrity as a politician has been a subject of much discussion. As destitute as he was of any moral principle, as exclusive, exacting, and subtle as was his selfishness, we yet have no evidence that he ever abandoned his convictions for a price. Though his path was indeed a tortuous one, yet it was not therefore necessarily one of *perfidious* intrigue. Though his ambition was without limit or restraint, we have no evidence that it was a treasonable ambition. Unscrupulous as he was in the use of means, it would yet be difficult to point out a single instance in his public life where he was ever disloyal.

With regard to the matter of Burr's relations with women there is some difference of opinion between Mr. Davis and Mr. Parton. The former says: "The sacred bonds of friendship were unhesitatingly violated when they operated as barriers to the indulgence of his passions." And such has ever been the prevailing opinion. But Mr. Parton assures us, on the other hand, on what to him appears good authority, that Mr. Burr has been somewhat belied in this matter; that he was far from being the tricky Satanic monster of prevailing tradition; that he was no debauchee; that he gave no evidence of a love for any of the grosser forms of licentiousness; that indeed for him to have been a sensualist of a brutal order, would have been a constitutional impossibility. He assures us that he was "no corrupter of virgin innocence, no despoiler of honest households, no betrayer of tender confidences, but only a man of gallantry," who, except invited, never was guilty of carrying an intrigue to the point of criminality, etc. But this description, after all, only converts him into the smooth, smiling, plausible demon, a character indeed reminding us forcibly of Goethe's Mephistophiles in Faust.

Colonel Burr was about five feet six inches in height. He was well-formed and erect in his attitudes. In all his movements there was a military air. Although of small stature there was a loftiness of mien about him that could not pass unnoticed by a stranger. His deportment was polished and courtly. His features were regular, and generally considered handsome. His eye was jet black,

with a brilliancy never surpassed, while his whole manner, whether performing the appropriate civilities of the drawing-room, or furnishing entertainment in a more privately social way, was inconceivably fascinating. Strange that a man whom nature formed to move in so exalted a sphere of usefulness, should ever consent to be influenced, much less actuated, by considerations other than such as ought to govern an honorable mind; nay, condescend to wallow in the quagmire of insatiate and unhallowed passion, to draggle the pinions of a spirit which might and ought to have been an angel of light to the world, in the cess-pools of infamy and lust. Yet this only teaches that important lesson, so often taught, that intellectual strength is no defense against the cruel power of temptation, no guarantee of dominion over ourselves. Had this most remarkable man, created manifestly by the God of nature to put forth a commanding agency in human affairs, only fashioned his character after the type and pattern furnished in the Gospel; had he but consented to have been guided by those high moral considerations by which a Milton, a Burke, or a Washington were guided, and upon which alone can be predicated success; had he, in a word, but consented to have been a faithful servant of the Most High, his life, instead of being a signal and unhappy failure, as now, might have been a victorious success. His name, instead of being universally held up to execration and "cast out as evil," might have been gratefully remembered for all coming time; where he now may have been a curse, he might have been the instrument of vast benedictions to millions. But his career now looms up dark in the history of the past, as a signal token of God's eternal displeasure with such as, though responsible for a mighty influence in the world, dare to trifle with it by living "without God." The results of his conduct verify the words of Young:—

"Talents, angel bright,
If wanting worth, are shining instruments
In false ambition's hand, to finish faults
Illustrious, and give infamy renown;"

and in his own experience as faithfully verify the fearful predictions of the Psalmist concerning those that forget God: "His house and his heart shall be left unto him desolate; his life shall be smitten down to the ground, and he made to dwell in darkness as one long dead." We behold in him, if not all that Gilfillan saw in his ancient prototype in *Paradise Lost*, "the clouded ruins of a God," at least the wreck of all that is divine in man. "He lived," indeed, as Washington Irving said of King Philip, "a wanderer and a fugitive in his native land, and went down at last

like a lonely bark, foundering amid darkness and tempest, without a pitying eye to weep his fall, or a friendly hand to record his struggle."

ART. V.—HUDSON ON A FUTURE LIFE.

Debt and Grace, as related to the Doctrine of a Future Life. By C. F. HUDSON.
12mo., pp. 472. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1857.

THE present age of theology is eminently characterized by a re-examination of fundamental positions which were supposed to have been long since settled; and among these the knottiest subjects have been sturdily grappled with. The striking peculiarity of many of these efforts is that they have originated in Christian minds, thus differing from the hostile attacks which infidels of the last century, and doubters of the modern school, have made upon the cardinal doctrines of the Bible. It is noticeable that Calvinism, especially, has not only lost the firm grasp upon its advocates which once led them unflinchingly to maintain its direst tenets, but it has undermined many of the basis truths of Christianity in those earnest, inquiring minds that have once begun to question its dogmas. Most of the erratic theories that have lately been broached among us on the hard questions of free will, free grace, and free destiny, have evidently been the reactions of yearning souls long bound down under the iron dicta of this system; yet it is noteworthy, that most, or all, of these, when they have rejected the dogmas of this stern theology, (for it is too repugnant to assimilate with *humanity*,) have nevertheless failed to attain the equipoise of a just Arminianism; they have either groped helplessly in the dark, confessing themselves bewildered with a conflict which they are unable to terminate, or they have rushed to some extreme of downright heterodoxy. We suspect another of these struggles in the conclusions arrived at in a new work, the title of which we give above; a book which, by its extent of research, cogent and fearless reasoning, no less than by the magnitude and interest of the topics handled, is probably destined to exert a marked influence in theological circles. It proposes to solve the great enigma of the continuance of sin in an endless future, by the extinction of the sinner from being; but it sets forth the proposition of annihilation from a Christian point of view, and discusses the questions involved in a manner and spirit so different from other

treatises that have advocated this theory, as to justify us in a more extended review than such efforts usually merit.

Setting out with a brief historico-critical sketch of the various philosophies that have been broached, touching the ground and final cause of man's immortality, in the course of which the author develops the central problem of his book—the permission of evil, and that perpetually, by a Creator of perfect power and goodness; he next proceeds to show the antagonism necessarily subsisting between these two principles, which he maintains is essentially *Dualism*. This he traces in the various systems in which it has been embodied in different ages; and applying it to the different Christian schemes, he reduces these, in respect to the solution of the question of evil, to “four theologies:” (1.) It is God's necessity, which is bald Dualism; (2.) It is his choice, which is Absolutism; (3.) It is of Nature, which virtually abnegates sin, and results in Pantheism or Atheism; (4.) It is permitted, which is doubtless the ordinary opinion. The effects of each of these theories, which he fastens upon several systems of Christian divinity that have been esteemed as orthodox, he admirably illustrates, as producing in pious minds what he calls, severally, “an agony of faith,” “a prostitution or else a prostration of faith,” “an eclipse of faith,” and “a trial with eventually a triumph of faith.” He next examines, with great rigor of analysis and severe logical deduction, the various solutions of the great problem thus brought to view, in the *theodicies*, as he terms them; namely, the justification of eternal punishment, on the following grounds: God's sovereignty; as against his infinite majesty or love, or his just government; for the sake of example; as against the universal welfare; as being of infinite demerit in itself; as against absolute duty; as intrinsically eternal, either past or future; as the greatest evil; as required by the Divine foreknowledge; as inherently connected with free-will; as the choice of infinities, or of two penalties; and various other reasons that have been assigned as its final cause. Nearly all these, we think, he conclusively shows to be either untenable or insufficient; hence he infers that neither evil nor its punishment will be endless, and this constitutes his own “*theodicy*.” At this point we take occasion to notice, by way of specimen, his disposition of two of these methods of solution; one because it is that most frequently resorted to, and the other because it is our view; and in the same connection to inquire whether his own solution of the problem is more satisfactory.

It is commonly claimed that the everlasting punishment of sin is just, because due to the infinite attributes of God, which have thereby been offended; for it is maintained that the character of the party wronged is the true measure of guilt. To this, in addition to counter-

arguments of lesser importance, the author substantially objects that it deduces infinite qualities from the relations of finite things. However infinite God may be, his perfections do not enhance the guilt of the sinner, except in proportion as the latter is able to apprehend them; and as he, being himself finite, can never perfectly do this, his sin must necessarily lack the element of infinity. In short, man's capacity, being limited, is not adequate to the production of anything really infinite. The objection appears to us logically insurmountable; and we may be permitted to remark, that we have always felt a misgiving when we have heard this assumed as the vindication of endless penalties of the Divine law. For, again, as the author continues, by parity of reason, every good act would have an infinity of merit, and so the account would be balanced, if a single act of genuine obedience could be offset against one's sins; since the latter, however enormous, aggravated, or repeated, would be equally infinite. In a word, this theory admits no degrees of guilt.

The other theodicy to which we refer is the doctrine of the perpetual sinfulness of the lost, not by reason of their destiny, but as a result of their own choice; thus incurring ever renewed and increasing guilt, which calls for a parallel punishment. That such will continue to be the case in the other world, if the sinner continues to exist, is the unavoidable inference from the known laws of his being; for we have no faith in those statements sometimes made respecting the contrition of the damned: *remorse* they doubtless will feel in all its power—a sense of self-destruction; but if true *penitence* were possible in hell, then reformation and salvation must be supposed as the sequel. The author takes exceptions to this solution, as being founded in a distinction between moral and natural inability on the part of the sinner, which, while it leaves his will theoretically free to choose the right even in the other world, still denies him the actual possibility of ever doing so; for without the former he cannot continue to incur sin, and with the latter his punishment might cease. But the same distinction is clearly applicable to many sinners in the present life, so that we may properly speak of hardened offenders as incapable of reform, without meaning that they have no freedom to do so; thus the Scriptures themselves represent it as impossible to those that are accustomed to do evil to learn to do well, as much so as for the leopard to change his spots or the Ethiopian his skin. And this inability is one that affects not merely man's passions and emotional susceptibilities, so depraved that he has no power whatever in himself to restore them to rectitude; it applies with equal truth, but in a somewhat different sense, to his will itself; it is God that must work in us both to will and to do,

before we can be saved. If, then, habits of sin may become so confirmed, even in the present probationary state, that the sinner's reform may become hopeless, and his final character certainly evil; there is no difficulty, surely, in supposing his continued impenitence and depravity equally or even more desperately fixed, beyond the slightest chance of change, in the future state, without in the least impeaching his free-will or lessening his guilt. There is a wide difference between certainty and necessity: the sinfulness of the lost is the result not so much of any external compulsion, as an inevitable issue of their own spiritual state and of self-induced corruption. But even if it were still more of the nature of infliction than this, there would be no injustice in its continuance, nor would this be any palliation for its guilt; since men in this life have the opportunity of preventing such a moral condition in themselves, and are therefore justly chargeable with all the wickedness that they may entail upon themselves. Besides, the gracious assistance of the Holy Spirit, without which we are assured none can ever avail themselves of the offers of salvation, even when made, will be withdrawn beyond the grave, and in its stead the lost soul will be shut up to all its self-polluting forces and only contaminating associations; this of itself is sufficient to insure a perpetuity of sinfulness. As God was not under any obligation originally to furnish either salvation or this aid to it, so he may justly at any time withhold them; and still less can complaint be made, on the part of the finally wicked, for the loss of those influences which during their whole lives they only neglected and sought to extinguish. In fine, if this life be a probation at all, there must not only be two spheres of existence beyond, of a nature severally correspondent to the divergent characters of its subjects, after these shall have become so confirmed as not to be liable to any reversion by reason either of inherent capability or of external solicitation; but these future conditions must each be such as to illustrate and vindicate the stability of these opposite characters; that is, they must be scenes of conscious happiness or misery flowing from them, and yet persistently cherished by their subjects; still further, these characters must have been permanently formed in this life, and thus, for a longer or less term, measurably have afforded an actual type of the hereafter of each. For whatever may be predicated of the lot of the righteous saved, may with equal propriety, in an opposite direction, belong to that of the wicked lost; if the one are to be rewarded (however at the outset a gratuity) with immortal blessedness, it is fit that the other should be punished (however self-induced) by endless pain.

Passing by other less important objections raised by the author

against this solution, as being substantially met by the above presentation of it, we notice his concluding one, namely, that it has no countenance in the Scriptures, which represent the sentence of eternal punishment as the penalty of past sins, those "done in the body." This is true of the sentence itself, as we have shown above; it is in accordance with the previous conduct of the individual during probation; but its continuance through eternity is based upon the already evinced incorrigible permanence of the character thus formed. Were this susceptible of reform, the penalty likewise would not be unalterable. The same principle is observed in human judgments: a criminal is imprisoned for life—the utmost limit to which finite justice can pursue him, not because he has been criminal for a commensurate term, but because, perhaps by a single act, he has manifested such thorough depravity as affords no prospect of improvement through his entire future; he is only put to death—the penalty proposed by the author—when he has shown such dangerous guilt that society is otherwise incapable of defense against him.

We have thus shown, we think, that one at least of the schemes for solving the difficulty of endless punishment rejected by the author, is sound and adequate; others that he has repudiated doubtless contain more or less truth, and may serve to afford collateral support to this. It remains, on this branch of the subject, to inquire as to the tenability of the theory of the author—the annihilation of the wicked, as a vindication of Divine justice. The capital objection of a metaphysical nature that we name against it, is, that it excludes all gradations of punishment, and thus reduces all degrees of sin to a common level of enormity. We are taught that there will be various ranks among the saints in glory, corresponding to their advancement in virtue, holiness, and usefulness here; and reason demands that sinners should in like manner be punished with different degrees of severity according to the measure of their guilt. Indeed, it may fairly be questioned whether a deprivation of existence would be any punishment at all, and not rather a refuge "from the wrath of God." But waving this for the present, we cannot see, after all the ingenuity of the author on this point, how justice can be satisfied by an indiscriminate extermination of the guilty, in whatever degree, by the same penalty. Can it be shown that this infliction will be more dreadful to those most deeply stained with sin? On the contrary, as it is only a penalty *in prospect*, it must be most awful to those whose moral susceptibilities are not altogether deadened, that is, to the comparatively innocent. Again, what penalty of a positive kind can be substituted for that of hell? The

author finds a sufficient infliction in the pangs of conscience. But this is liable to the same fatal objection; it falls with least weight upon the most abandoned in sin. Furthermore, there is often no opportunity for the infliction at all, since death surprises many a sinner in the midst of his crimes, and allows him scarcely a moment's anticipation of punishment. Shall the intermediate state be assumed as the penal dungeon, where remorse shall prey in due proportion upon the vitals of the culprit? That too is unequal punishment; for then the antediluvians and Sodomites will have suffered ages longer than the more guilty denizens of modern times, if a general judgment is to be the signal of the release of both from purgatory: and if even this last be also repudiated, then we know of no fixed walls to the prison-house of despair, and the intermediate state becomes merged in the very eternity denied. And in either case, the hypothesis itself is subverted by the supposition of a miserable existence of the wicked beyond the grave. In short, the theory is loaded with all the difficulties of rank Universalism, except the bald absurdity of introducing impenitent sinners arbitrarily into heaven; it eliminates them by a more summary process.

Many annihilationists seek to avoid this objection drawn from the indiscriminate punishment of the wicked, by the supposition of a sort of lingering "second death" awaiting them in the other world; thus making the penalty of sin a negative one only in so far as it consists ultimately in an extinction of being, and, in that respect, not susceptible of degrees, but positive with regard to the mode by which that extermination is reached, which they conceive to consist of a series of agonies wearing out the vitality of the soul, and thus graduated, both in duration and intensity, to the demerits of the individual. We cannot discover that Mr. Hudson distinctly avows this theory, but as it might be urged as an offset to our argument above, he is entitled to whatever advantage may be found in it. To our mind this solution of the fate of the lost is clogged with additional difficulties. In the first place, even this gradation of suffering must act with great inequality and disproportion to the moral character of the sinner, for if the suffering be of a physical character, or rather, (since it is of the soul that we are principally speaking,) if it come from some external influence, in the nature of an infliction, its very intensity would the sooner destroy the being, and in any case, as the power of endurance is a fixed and limited term in the equation, the severity of the pain would always be inversely to its time, and the product of the two would thus, in every case, be equal; if, on the other hand, the penalty be a moral one, consisting in the

pangs of conscience or the like, the greatest offenders, usually being those having the least susceptibility of moral feeling, would suffer the least anguish, and scarcely experience destruction at all from any inconvenience of this nature. In the second place, the soul, by its very nature, is incapable of such a "dying by inches" as this theory supposes; being an indivisible unit, it cannot suffer loss by attrition under any process however severe; pain has no tendency to destroy its essence, nor even to impair its fundamental powers; nothing but the same Almighty fiat that first called it into being can ever deprive it of existence. Again: if this arbitrary exercise of Omnipotence must at last be resorted to in order to extinguish the soul, then the previous agony which it undergoes is not only fruitless of any purpose, but seems like the wanton torture of a criminal before execution; nor can it avail to render the punishment of individuals commensurate with their guilt, for it bears no adequate proportion to the great final act of indiscriminate annihilation, if this latter be really penal at all; indeed, this theory, while professing to ignore the pains of hell, actually concedes their necessity as the penalty of sin in another world, and superadds another doom beyond them. Lastly, such a cessation of being, both as regards the gradual stages of dissolution, and the *coup de grace* by which we must suppose it eventually to end, is inconsistent with all that we know of the soul's condition in the future world, a destiny so fixed and final from the moment of the sentence at the day of judgment, as to admit neither of a lingering nor an abrupt transition to the very opposite of entity, at any subsequent epoch in its duration.

Immortality is pre-eminently a doctrine of revelation; the heathen world, with its utmost stretch of reasoning, failed to gain more than an inkling of its truth, and even this was probably due to the effects of popular tradition that had come down from primeval religion. But dim as was the light of antiquity, it was sufficient to point out a scene of retribution for sin in the future world; and all mythological systems have embodied the idea of a Tartarus no less than of an Elysium. It appears that the speculations of unassisted human reason have rather tended to obscure and bewilder the belief of a future state than to confirm it; and hence the philosophies of ancient and modern times have always exhibited more of skepticism than the mass of men have entertained. As Christians, we all acknowledge that the Bible contains the only clear and authoritative voice on this momentous question. We doubt whether abstract reasoning has ever furnished even collateral proof of the immortality of the soul. The argument of Drew and others, drawn from its immateriality, is especially a failure. It amounts to this: that the

soul, being immaterial, is indivisible, and therefore indestructible. But for this very reason, if at all, it is liable to perish: matter, however minutely divided or greatly changed in form, is incapable, so far as we know, of destruction, except by infinite power; but the soul, being a unit, and ethereal in its substance, might, for aught in analogy to the contrary, drop from existence with the cessation of the organism that apparently called it into being, or perhaps only developed it as a peculiar relation of physical elements. If, on the contrary, the soul could be shown to be material, it would have a tangibility of character much more likely, in the eye of simple reason, to give it permanence of existence. The ancients, accordingly, scarcely doubted the eternity of matter, but only of their own souls. All reliable information, therefore, respecting the future state of the human spirit, whether good or bad, must be sought in the Holy Scriptures; and here the author of the present treatise ought to have come, in the first instance, for light, rather than to have first puzzled himself with philosophical abstrusities on points where reason is incompetent to decide. Difficulties of a scientific, experimental, or exegetical character, we admit, may often properly be decided by argumentation, aside from the declarations of Scripture; or, if in any wise theological, rather supplementary to it; but the distinction between the destiny of the good and bad, if ascertainable at all, must be clearly fixed in the sacred pages. To this test, we are therefore glad that the author at last appeals, in an extended and critical manner; but it is evidently with a temper already biased by the foregoing speculations, anxious to ascertain whether the force of Scripture texts bearing upon the point at issue, may not be explained away, so as not to offer material obstruction to the theory proposed, rather than with a frank unprepossessed desire to seek the spontaneous utterance of the Divine oracles.

We have room to notice but a few of these passages, as handled by the author, and shall select, as the first specimen of his line of argumentation, one that is acknowledged by himself to be the most important and oftenest referred to in this controversy. "These shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal." Matt. xxv, 46. Waiving any advantage that might be taken from an equivocal sense of the term "everlasting," (for that would have been equally fatal to the "endless" existence of the righteous,) the author, in commenting on this passage, first accepts the rendering "punishment" as a just equivalent of the original, and then seeks, by a copious but ingeniously selected array of citations, to show that it may refer to any penal infliction, even of a privative character; and concludes by insisting upon the con-

trast with "life" in the parallel clause, as showing that it refers to a simple and literal extinction from being, or *death* of the soul itself, as well as of the body. By this method of special pleading, the whole distinctive force of the text, so far as relates to this doctrine, is frittered away, (as any passage may be upon whatever special point,) and the whole at last reduced to this frigid meaning: *These shall forever be blotted out of being, but the righteous shall possess immortal blessedness.* But it does not appear to have struck the writer, how ill adapted is the language employed, if meant to teach the annihilation of the wicked, and what a capital opportunity was neglected by our Saviour to be explicit on this doctrine if true. What more natural than for him to have used the term "death," a perfect antithesis to "life," and one sometimes employed singly in the Scriptures, if that was what he meant. But "punishment," thus absolutely placed, cannot, after all, by any fair exegesis, be made equivalent to a negative privation of being; it evidently refers to some positive infliction, some suffering that corresponds to the idea of human punishment. The word itself, *κόλασις*, is expressive of the application of force, as in scourging, buffeting, or maiming; it alludes literally to the clipping or *pruning* of trees and vines, and is used tropically of correction, especially by personal chastisement. (See Robinson's *Lexicon of the N. T.*, s. v.) In the New Testament it only occurs elsewhere in 1 John iv, 18, where it is spoken figuratively of mental agony induced by fear, and is rendered "torment;" and the kindred verb *κολάζω* is used in Acts iv, 21, of the "punishing" of the apostles by stripes, by order of the Jewish Sanhedrim. No one, but an advocate of the author's theory, would ever have dreamed of his interpretation. The passage as clearly speaks of a severe infliction of conscious pain as any language that could well have been used. But more, a *place* of punishment, and not a state merely, is clearly intimated by the phrase, "shall go away;" there is to be a hell, as well as a heaven. At least the imagery of the final judgment employed in this entire connection, requires the personal presence and conscious participation of all the parties concerned, and a specific allotment of destiny that must locate its subjects somewhere in the universe, although, as is probable, the terms employed are merely symbolical, the real torment or bliss being within the breast, and consisting mainly of a consciousness of the Divine frown or favor. The idea of a locality of suffering is especially evident in the parallel verse, (41,) where the doom is more explicitly set forth by the terms "depart—into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Now these beings, we know, have not been annihilated; nor could such a fate be couched with

any propriety under this language. Finally, if the author's exegesis be allowed, and a perfect parallel supposed to be intended between the two members of the sentence, so that "life" in one shall answer to "death" in the other; then it follows, either that as simple cessation of being is predicated of the bad, so mere continuance of existence is promised to the good; or if these terms be taken, as the author allows, in the Jewish sense of the blessings attendant upon life and the reverse, then the endless happiness of the righteous is still asserted to have its counterpart in the unending misery of the wicked. There is no escape from the alternative; the fate of the lost is linked by an explicit contrast with the destiny of the good, and there is the same warrant for the woe of the one as for the bliss of the other.

Passing by the other proof-texts adduced by the author, and held by him as insufficient to sustain the doctrine in question, (for we do not think he has been particularly happy in selecting the most forcible or pertinent ones,) we propose to examine a few others which he appears to have overlooked, or not to have thought worth considering, but which to our mind seem quite conclusively to teach the endless being of the wicked in a state of misery. The apostle Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, after having drawn a graphic picture of the enormities of the Gentile world, (chap. i.) proceeds (in chap. ii) to bring home the penalty of equally great sins upon the self-righteous Jew, who was ready to concede the justice of the punishment denounced upon the Gentile. The whole passage is a series of arguments and appeals based upon the admitted tenet in question. "We are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth against them which commit such things; and thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?" (verses 2, 3.) Now what "judgment" is the writer speaking of? That is the very thing we want to ascertain. According to Mr. Hudson's theory, it ought to be final extinction from being. Let us see, as we read on. "But after thy hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thyself wrath, against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his deeds," (verses 5, 6.) Here the "judgment" is represented as *accumulating* (an idea inapplicable to annihilation) against a fixed period, when it is to be "revealed" by actual infliction. The next clause clearly states the nature of the final award. "To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honor and immortality, *eternal life*; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, *indignation and*

wrath, TRIBULATION AND ANGUISH, UPON EVERY SOUL OF MAN THAT DOETH EVIL, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honor, and peace to every man that worketh good," (verses 7-10.) Here is a multiplication of terms, all expressive of the idea of *pain* or suffering as the future lot of the wicked, which no artifice of dialectics can obscure or explain away. If the apostle meant anything at all by them, and did not employ terms entirely at random, he must have intended to convey this meaning. We see, too, the same antithesis between the destiny of the good and the bad, as in the passage examined above; "tribulation and anguish" are set over against "eternal life," for even *eternal death* was too weak a term to contain the intense allotment of the lost. Nor is there here any opportunity to refer the language to any temporal or social calamity about to await the guilty in the present life, such as the destruction of Jerusalem, etc.; for the warning is addressed to a supposed inhabitant of Rome, and is moreover extended to "every soul of man that doeth evil." Finally, as if to exclude all ambiguity, and render it certain that he was alluding to the awards of eternity, the apostle adds, at the conclusion of the whole asseveration of the impending "judgment," the explicit statement, "In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel," (ver. 16.) That positive and conscious suffering after "the day of judgment" is here spoken of, can admit of no reasonable doubt. That it is also to be unending in its character, arises, not only from the nature of the case, but is amply set forth in other passages of Scripture, which speak of its duration.

But why should we multiply passages on this subject? One, if explicit, is as good as a score. It appears to be impossible even for inspiration so to frame its statements in human language as not to be liable to be perverted and misinterpreted by human ingenuity. For instance, the parable of the rich man and Lazarus would seem to be conclusive on the question of the future suffering of the wicked. But according to Mr. Hudson, it "simply denotes that there can be no improvement of the condition of those who die out of Christ. Aside from this, it proves nothing beyond the judgment. It belongs to the intermediate state." And thus the entire penalty due to sin is shifted or rather confined to the interval between death and the final judgment. Truly, if this be so, the wicked have cause to look forward to that awful day with anticipations rather of desire than of dread, for it will be the signal for their release from the most frightful agonies, albeit by the alternative of non-existence. We doubt whether any would not prefer the latter, as the least of two evils.

Connected with this point, the author has a chapter on the relations of the soul to the body, in which he displays, as everywhere else, a great degree of shrewd analysis and extensive examination of theories, rather than a broad and deep power of deduction. Some of his speculations on this topic are exceedingly ingenious and plausible. His discussions also exhibit considerable learning, without much solidity or balance of scholarship. His conclusion is a singular form of *materialism*—a system which he formally discards and denounces. He regards the body as the “externalization” of the soul, its outward development, and requisite to its complete subsistence; so that it is only necessary for the Almighty utterly and forever to blot the body out of being, in order effectually to extinguish the soul, for all the intents and purposes of existence. Why, then, he is compelled to ask, at the close, why are the unjust also to experience a resurrection of the body, seeing they are immediately to be destroyed altogether? The question is certainly very natural. The author disposes of the seeming difficulty of this useless miracle, amounting, under the circumstances, to a wanton act of tantalization, after his own fashion. He finds its analogy in the death of damaged seeds by the spontaneous effort of germination! as if there were any basis here for a comparison involving a moral issue. To come to a more direct vindication, he thinks that the redemption procured by Christ may avail so far, even to the unbelieving, as to quicken their souls and thereby their bodies into a temporary life. “Even bad men in Christendom are familiar with moral sentiments, great truths of humanity, which the heathenish intellect has not conceived. May not such truths, as food to the souls even of those who do not cleave to him who is the Truth and the Life, cause death itself to be divided, as the proper effect and token of redemption?” Sheer transcendentalism. We look for a more positive and Divine cause of the resurrection, whether of the just or unjust; and we demand a more consistent and worthy purpose for it too. If the body is not to be the vehicle of more perfect bliss or misery, we must regard its resuscitation as nugatory; if it is only raised that it may be at once destroyed, we can only conceive of the act as one of solemn trifling.

The author devotes two long chapters to “the historical argument” for his theory, in which he boldly attempts to show that it has been substantially held by the wisest, best, and most reliable, not only among ancient philosophers, but even of the early Church fathers; and that it was distinctly repudiated by none, unless by the Pharisees and similar errorists. Now, if it were worth while, we would be tempted to undertake a defense of these maligned Phari-

sees, inasmuch as, for aught that appears to the contrary, their *doctrines* were generally correct; it was their practice which the Saviour so often condemned. But we should scarcely have been prepared for so hardy an attempt on the part of our author, as that of deriving confirmation of his theory from other than very dubious ancient writers, whether Christian or otherwise, did we not know that precisely the same claim has been advanced, and maintained with more or less plausibility and learned array of citations, by almost every form of false doctrine in vogue in the Church. Moreover, if the annihilation of the wicked can be harmonized with the statements of Christ and his apostles—and Mr. Hudson, as we have seen, contends for no less than this—it matters little what other authorities may or may not be in favor of it. We therefore turn over this whole elaborate portion of his book to others more competent or disposed to sift it; believing, for our own part, that scarcely any doctrine is so absurd that it might not derive some support from heathen philosophers and even Church fathers. We say this without designing to disparage the author's laborious researches into the history of the subject, which really appear to have been quite extensive, or meaning to reflect upon the value of such references to earlier opinions on controversial subjects in general; but simply to show the unreliable character of conclusions drawn from such investigations when pursued for a partisan purpose, or to bolster up a favorite system.

The remaining chapters of the book are occupied with several collateral and consequential considerations, intended to exhibit the superiority of the theory advocated in meeting the various problems and practical demands of ethics and Christianity. The space to which we have limited this article will permit us only to name the titles of these chapters, which are on "the philosophy of error," "the harmony of Christian doctrine," "the paradoxes of penalty," "the missionary spirit," and "the highest good." They include numerous subordinate topics of much interest, and their discussion gives completeness and symmetry to the main views advanced throughout the volume. Taken as a whole, it is by far the most complete treatise of its kind that we have met with, and we should not be surprised to find its positions extensively adopted by the adherents of that shifting system of belief termed Universalism, with which it exhibits many striking features of brotherhood.

In concluding these remarks, we observe that the odium of Dualism cast by the author upon the doctrine of endless evil in the person of the lost, is not just. The imputation would be correct only in case evil were represented as an original self-producing principle,

independent of the Creator. But here it is the offspring of one of his creatures, and therefore the product of an arrangement which, for certain unknown reasons, he has himself permitted. It is in the same sense that the prophet Isaiah, in refutation of this very reprobated doctrine of Dualism as held by the Persians, whom he represents by Cyrus, says of Jehovah that "he creates light and darkness, good and evil." Now, to our mind, there is no greater intrinsic difficulty in admitting the perpetual existence of evil, in this permitted (or indeed in any) form, than in its temporary continuance. It is always and utterly abhorrent to the Divine nature, and if he can allow it for a moment, why not for a long time, or forever, if he see fit? That he has seen fit to permit its existence and introduction among angels and men, is certain; why, we cannot, at present, perhaps we shall never discover. The author quotes with approbation Neander's sentiment, that sin is *per se* unaccountable, abnormal; and that if any final cause could be assigned for it, it would that moment cease to be sin, because it would become reasonable. A similar remark might be made of its continuance; at least we may say that our faculties are equally incompetent to comprehend the Divine method of adjusting its perpetuity to his economy. Now in advance, were we as uncertain of the fact of sin, as we now are of its future being, we should doubtless deem the idea equally incompatible with the Divine attributes; but we are sure that sin does exist; the most hardy rationalist cannot deny the stubborn palpable fact; and this should teach mankind humility and caution in pronouncing upon the reasonableness of its endless continuance. Were we at liberty to construct our own theology, and frame the universe according to it, we should doubtless fashion it very differently from the actual about us, and we might pride ourselves greatly upon our skill; but a wiser, because a broader induction would teach us to prefer the scheme which God has effected, whatever difficulties may appear for the present to beset it. The immortal work of Butler has long ago effectually met, on analogical grounds, the central difficulty that has driven our author into the theory of the final destruction of the wicked. The present treatise is calculated to take a strong hold of the Christian mind, not only from its plausibility, but especially from the general and deep-seated feeling of reluctance felt in the pious heart to realize the everlasting misery of so many fellow-beings, perhaps among them several intimate friends or dear relatives. But this tenderness may be misplaced, and should rather be called an amiable weakness than a holy sympathy. Do we love our nearest kindred better than God who made us all, or Christ who died for them as well as for us? Let us remember He is to be the

final Judge, and will award exact justice. Could we behold and realize sin in its full turpitude, so far from pitying it, we should be unable to look upon it otherwise than with horror. The revelations of the last day will no doubt clear up whatever of mystery now envelops this awful subject; and vindicate the Divine severity, even in the eyes of those who shall be its hapless victims.

ART. VI.—BÉRANGER.

Œuvres Complètes de Béranger. Paris: 1857.

"A MAN may be sair mistaen about mony things," says the Et-trick Shepherd, "such as yepics, and tragedies, and tales, and even lang-set elegies about the death o' great public characters, and hymns, and odds, and the like, but he canna be mistaen about a sang." It has been customary in most of the monarchical governments of continental Europe, to teach all young noblemen, and even every one who lays any claim to gentle blood, to spurn Béranger's songs, so long had the old minstrel been tuning his harp to republican strains. Monarchs have by no means been the last to learn the power of song, and a loyal policeman is never more on duty than when he hears at dead of night the distant sound of some chorus, which the royal band has never been known to perform in the public promenade. Poor Béranger never wished any man put in prison on his account, if for no other reason than that he knew what it was to live on prison fare; but no doubt some of his stirring songs have done what he has often wept over, and no living man can divine a tithe of their destiny. Old Homer little thought that those legends which he sang as he wandered through the towns of Asia Minor, would be at once the most glorious legacy of his language to the world, and the pride of many a succeeding people. The *Marseillaise* may lead more republican Frenchmen to victory than it has done, and the future biographer of "Yankee Doodle" may have more to say of it than that it figured largely, in its own wonder-working way, on Bunker Hill and on the plains of Mexico.

Pierre-Jean de Béranger was born at Paris, August 17, 1780. His mother and father separated, *à la Française*, a short time after their marriage, and his paternal grandfather took charge of him until he was nine years old. He was then sent to Peronne, under the

care of an aunt who lived there and kept an inn. She sent him to school, a Republican one too, and the old lady was sorry enough when she heard that her little nephew could make a better revolutionary speech than any other boy in school. She was a Catholic and loved her king, both of which facts made it the darkest day she ever groped through when the Revolution closed the church doors in Péronne. One day at this early age he was found reading one of the most pernicious of Voltaire's books, and when the name of Voltaire is mentioned it summons to our sight that host of harpies which infected so many innocent hearts in France with the poison of infidelity at the close of the last century, and which made the nation what it now is, the offspring of Catholicism, Voltaire-atheism, and Rousseau-socialism. There can be no doubt that the books of the arch-atheist exerted great influence on Béranger's mind in his early life; and what is saddest of all, that influence is still in force.

From the school Béranger went into a printing-office, and while an apprentice there he composed an edition of André Chénier. Here he showed his talent for poetry. His employer became interested in him, and taught him the principles of prosody, with other higher branches of the French language. It was the kindness of that publisher which first made him feel that he was a poet. His muse began to show him the most dazzling visions of a great name. In fact, his whole future life was one gilded romance. Alas for the dreams of youth! but what would ninety-nine hundredths of the great men ever have done without them? Carlyle says it is the true mark of a genius (we forget the exact phraseology) that he does not know his greatness. Admit it sometimes, but not in Béranger's case. Every action of his at this period of his life proves that he knew and felt his innate power. He could not rest until he was back in Paris, where his hand and heart might do something for Republicanism. Soon we find him there railing at the extravagant manners and effeminacy of the Directory in the "*Hermaphrodites*." The story was no exaggeration. He had told the bold, simple truth, and for that reason the piece never saw the light on the French stage. The love of truth was one of the strongest instincts of his nature, and he despised with a cordial hatred that extravagance and luxury which made France bleed at that day—and not much less so at this—from every pore.

Imagine him now a young man, with his hands tied by the restrictions of the police and real grinding poverty. A sudden change in the king's favor had left his father without a franc, although that father was a cringer and a courtier. The young poet loved Paris. It was his first home, and the wool cockades of 1789—the Republi-

cans were too democratic to wear silk ones—were still in his memory. The bell of the Hôtel de Ville was still sounding in his ears, and the chords of his heart were still vibrating to the harmonies of the *Marseillaise*. Well they might, for, young as he was, he was one of that mighty throng which filled the Faubourg de St. Antoine on that ever-memorable July day, and his own eyes had seen the old Bastille in the throes of dissolution, black as it was with the smoke of centuries, and vocal with the groans and sighs of thousands of dead and forgotten human beings. The scene had pictured itself on the child's mind. The outlines of the picture grew larger, and the colors more terribly vivid, as his mind strengthened and his sympathy for his fellow-beings enlarged. It was his first lesson in Republicanism, and he not only learned it well, but he never forgot it. Nearly fifty years afterward, when he was a prisoner in La Force, he sang that triumph of the people with all the fervor of youth:

Pour un captif, souvenir plein de charmes !
 J'étais bien jeune; on criait: Vengons-nous !
 A la Bastille ! aux armes ! vite aux armes !
 Marchands, bourgeois, artisans, couraient tous.
 Je vois pâlir et la femme et la fille ;
 Le canon gronde aux rappels du tambour.
 Victoire au peuple ! il a pris la Bastille !
 Un beau soleil a fêté ce grand jour.

How little those lines smell of the damp air that lurks within the gloomy walls of an old French prison! Much less can you see through them the gray hairs of old age, or the dimmed eye, or the palsied hand that penned them.

He was without any money in Paris, and for all he loved the city so much he was on the point of emigrating to Egypt. At that time Egypt was attracting thousands of young Frenchmen to its shores, owing to Bonaparte's victories there, and Béranger shared the furor. He did not expect to make songs for French emigrants to sing along the banks of the Nile, nor did he expect to turn soldier, but he wanted the common necessities of life, for these were leaving him one by one in Paris. He consulted M. Parseval-Grandmaison on his proposed emigration, but he dissuaded him. So the young poet, to get bread to eat and clothes to wear, turned waiter in a hotel. In the mean time he paid great attention to the study of La Fontaine and Molière, so much so that a member of the critic species has accused him of only being a reflection of those two great masters in French literature. His taste kept constantly changing in regard to the particular branch of poetry he was to adopt. He had written the "Hermaphrodites" for the stage, and he traversed the whole way from the comedy to the ballad, from these to dithyrambs,

and thence to the ode, before at last attempting the proud height of epic poetry in "Clovis." But all the world knows he never made that his dwelling-place, and from the epic he has ascended or descended, just as you please, to the region of song. There he was destined to live and there he died, and, although the temperature was anything but pleasant at times in the world around him, he never left that spot; for the tempests that were wrecking navies and leveling forests never wrung the vines that climbed by his door-side from their support, nor despoiled a single one of his flowers of its beauty or fragrance. It was at the time when he was almost despairing that he sent some of his favorite songs to a number of the leading men of the day, in hope of receiving some favor from them. He did it, little as you would have thought it, but his need was his only apology. But he did not state to them his real wants, though the mere sending of his songs implied as much. No one noticed him save Lucien Buonaparte, the brother of the First Consul. Said Lucien to him in reply: "I hope no need will ever persecute you in your labors; I will supply your wants, fear nothing." This happened in 1803. Afterward, when Napoleon was an exile in Elba, and Lucien had fled to Italy, the latter did not forget Béranger. "Do not cease to cultivate your talent," he writes to him; "by labor you will become an ornament to our Parnassus. Pay strict attention to your rhythm; be bold, but, above all, be elegant." In that same letter came something which relieved those wants that good advice cannot always reach.

One day he showed Lucien's letters to M. Arnault, a member of the University. M. Arnault recommended him to M. Fontanes, and he took him immediately under his patronage, making him his confidential copyist, *commis expéditionnaire*. One day the president of the University heard some one singing the "Roi d'Yvetôt," and on instituting a search for the song, he found it, and ran with it to Napoleon, who was now emperor. "Do you know the tune?" asked the emperor; and the president whistled Béranger's song to him. One evening, not long afterward, when all his courtiers were around him, he hummed the chorus at intervals for hours:

"Oh! oh! oh! oh! ah! ah! ah! ah!
 Quel bon petit roi c'était là
 La, la.

The song needs a word of explanation, because it was a daring thing and a direct thrust at the emperor. Yvetôt is a little town in Normandy, and all the inhabitants are engaged in manufacturing cotton lace goods. They are a community to themselves, and are rough and rustic. The town referred to in the song represents the

French people, and the "*bon petit roi*" stands for the hero of Marengo and Austerlitz. It was a severe satire on the emperor, and he felt it too; but Béranger lived to see the day when his satires were turned into elegies for the man who had crowned France with so many laurel wreaths. In 1813 he was received as a member of the *Caveau*, a singing club formed of members of the liberal party. Two years after this the battle of Waterloo was fought, and the allies were the masters of Paris. At a banquet given to the aides-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, Béranger happened to be present, and thus he boasted the glories of French valor:

"Notre gloire est sans seconde
Français, où sont nos rivaux ?

* * * * *
Redoutons l'anglomanie,
Elle a déjà gâté tout ;
N'allons point en Germanie
Chercher les règles du goût.

* * * * *
Mes amis, mes amis,
Soyons de notre pays."

No man but Béranger would have dared to drink such a toast as that in the presence of his enemies. It was only a few years before that he sneaked about Paris, shunning the very shadow of a policeman, and trembling at the sight of a uniform, for fear of falling a victim to the conscription in the wars of Napoleon. To be a soldier! never did word sound more fearful to mortal ear than that to his. And yet he would sing songs under the very nose of a monarch, without trembling for his situation, if by chance he had one, and hurl sarcasms at such enemies as could, at any moment, banish him to a Pacific island or shut him up to die in a secret dungeon. He did not love money; that accounts for his conduct to some extent; the blank may be filled by his hatred of all kinds of tyranny, and his love of France. From the moment he heard of the defeat at Waterloo, he loved to think of Napoleon. He forgot the emperor, but thought of the unfortunate hero with a twofold zeal. From that day forth Béranger joyed in the remembrance of him, and the waves that beat against the coral-belted St. Helena have never sounded a sadder requiem to the glory of France and her greatest hero, than the heart-sprung dirges of her greatest lyric poet.

The circumstance of his joining the *Caveau* determined his success. He is no longer the obscure author of songs that grow dusty in the book-stall on the Quai de Voltaire, but the man whose name is uttered with respect and love by every liberty-loving

Frenchman. After the second Restoration in 1815 his reputation was completely established. He always considered the vices and excesses of the Bourbons disgraceful to his country, and he took no trouble to conceal his dislike of the profligate royal line. In 1815 appeared the first edition of his songs. They spread like wildfire. His situation as copyist was well-nigh taken from him. In 1821 he published some additional songs, and they cost him three months' imprisonment, with a fine of five hundred francs. In 1828 the third edition of his "*Chansons*" could be seen in almost every book-stall throughout the kingdom. In that edition were "*Le Sacre de Charles le Simple*," and "*Genotocracie*," and these subjected him to nine months' imprisonment, with a fine of ten thousand francs. But his friends paid the fine, and their frequent visits and kind offices converted his prison into a palace. He was proud of his name and songs, and no narrow cell in St. Pélagie ever held a gayer heart. The Bourbons often tried to bribe him, but they never succeeded. He was always poor, and no period of his life found his heart longing for wealth. It was always his alternative to be in prison or in an office under the crown. He chose the former, and during the reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X. he was three times fined and imprisoned. But he went still further in keeping a safe distance from office, and in 1848, when his own party held the reins, he refused to ride with them. He had frequent and earnest offers to take a seat in the National Assembly, but he rejected them all. His reply was, *Pas encore*—not yet; and that was the reply he had been making to royal and republican offers for half a century.

It is certain that before he died he repented the republican fanaticism that had so often manifested itself in the Champs Elysées and in the court of the Palais Royal. Not long before his death he wrote a letter to M. Morin, an old office-holder under the Republic. In referring to Napoleon, said he: "You know how many blessings he has lavished upon France; all parties have their faults, but those we have most reason to lament are the enormous faults of the Republicans." These were the sober thoughts of his old age. He was long in conceiving them, but he did it notwithstanding.

The book whose title stands at the head of this sketch is all that will prolong his fame. It contains his most cherished thoughts and feelings, and yet the volume is so small that you can almost carry it in your vest pocket with your pencil, penknife, and toothpick. "*Le Vieux Drapeau*" is perhaps the finest specimen of his patriotic productions. The closing lines contain a world of feeling:

"Viens, mon drapeau, viens, mon espoir!
 C'est à toi d'essuyer mes larmes.
 D'un guerrier qui verse des pleurs
 Le ciel entendra la prière :
 Oui, je secourrai la poussière
 Qui ternit tes nobles couleurs."

The authority of translations is not unfrequently questionable, but to transfer a song from one language to another is like transplanting the olive and magnolia to the coast of Labrador or Greenland. Think of translating "Yankee Doodle" or "Hail Columbia" into throat-breaking Russian or cackling Chinese. There have been many English versions of "Mon Habit," but in no case has as much justice been done to "The Old Coat," as a translation in the Illustrated London News, a short time after the wearer's death. In fact it is more a paraphrase than a translation; we only give a portion of it:

"Never, my coat, hast thou been found
 Bending thy shoulders to the ground,
 From any upstart 'lord' or 'grace'
 To beg a pension or a place.
 If but for that, old as thou art,
 Thou and the poet should not part,
 Poor coat.

Poor though we be, my good old friend,
 No gold shall bribe our backs to bend :
 Honest amid temptations past,
 We will be honest to the last ;
 For more I prize thy virtuous rags
 Than all the lace a courtier brags.
 And while I live and have a heart
 Thou and the poet shall not part,
 Poor coat.

His muse could suffer no kind of hypocrisy, and she was always full of feeling and humanity. But she had another trait of character, and that was wit. Béranger may have encouraged his natural propensity for it from his early reading of Voltaire, but you can discover in none of his songs that sneer with which Voltaire always argued against the truth and essence of religion. A writer in the *Revue de Paris*, speaking of him after he died, says: "Béranger comprised the Christian in doing good and keeping poor." Frenchmen are as anxious to make him a good Christian as the Germans are in trying to manufacture Goethe into one. The difficulty will be as great in the one case as in the other. He abused the pope, and so did Eugene Sue; one proof, if we could find no other, that abusing the pope does not constitute the true Christian. But the writer of the "Wandering Jew" does not deserve to stand beside the author of the

"Chansons," for Béranger, in heart and life, could count his goodness by miles, and it would be telling more than the truth to say that Sue could count his by barleycorns. He was a Deist as near as his religion can be guessed at. His social ideas came from the author of "Emile." Many of his songs partake of a licentious character: for them let him have his deserts. They do not give evidence of genius, as many others of his songs, and they reverse, in a great measure, Mark Antony's opinion of the good and bad actions of men. These songs either died before the poet died or felt the death chillness creeping over them. The good Béranger did is all that gives promise of "living after" him. He is no example to the world of a Christian, and all that can be said in his honor is, that he had a kind and feeling heart, and he wrote good songs. It is not a wonder that he was not religious, when we remember the imperfect canvas and incongruous colors which constituted the picture of French religion in the former half of his life, and which promised but little change during his declining years. The wonder is that he was as good as he was. He made no professions of philanthropy. The most, perhaps, he ever said on the subject was: "When I think of the unfortunate, I wish myself only born to be rich." His love to help the poor and suffering was undoubtedly his greatest virtue, and his whole life was one continued illustration of it. In the preface to the edition of his songs in 1833, he writes: "The happiness of humanity has been the dream of my life." See what he says of his songs: "Mes chansons, c'est moi, * * * *. Le peuple, c'est ma Muse."

Béranger died in July, 1857, the same month, more than half a century ago, which witnessed the taking of the Bastille, when as a lyric poet and republican he was born. During his final illness the empress was very attentive to him. It is said that when she could not visit him personally she sent him little delicacies, which served to soothe, in a great measure, the pangs of sickness and approaching death. When she was a little girl he wrote snatches of poetry to please her childish fancy. "You have taken care of my youth," said she, "and now I will take care of your old age;" and she did it to the last. Immediately after his death was publicly announced, a placard was posted up at the street-corners of Paris, stating that the government would take charge of his burial, because he had expressed in his will that no popular demonstration should take place at his funeral. The placard was signed by the prefect of police. So the soldiers buried Béranger, and the people whom he so much loved had to keep their distance. It was said that he had been dead six days before his death was publicly announced, in

order that the telegraphic wires could be united at the office of the prefect of police, and soldiers could be called in from a distance. The poet of the people was then followed to his long resting-place by one hundred thousand soldiers with loaded muskets. He now sleeps in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, and though there is no royal dust to aristocratize the spot, there sleep around him the greatest and the best who have adorned the pulpit, the forum, and the Parnassus of France. He is worthy a place among them, and his tomb bears the simple inscription, "Béranger." Two months after his burial a number of fresh wreaths hung around his tomb. They were the offerings of affection, and it would be hard to tell who hung them there, so many poor people has he helped in their poverty and distress. It is a beautiful custom in most European countries to lay fresh wreaths day after day on the graves of departed friends. Nor are people employed to do it, as mourners are hired in Holland, but they are the offerings of the heart. Friends pay such homage at the shrine of affection scores of years after those they loved in life have gone back to their mother dust. To lay a wreath upon a friend's grave—it is as evidence that affection lives longer than years; it means that your friend wears a wreath of the unfading leaves that angels have plucked and twined, as a reward from labor and a welcome home. Let those who disbelieve in the endurance of earthly friendship and affection, stand beside one of these graves and learn a lesson of the heart. It is no mean proof that man was not stripped of all his goodness at the fall.

Since France needed a lyric poet so much, it is not likely that she will soon part with him; the less likely since he touched a chord in the heart of the nation. In many of the rustic French cottages you can see on one end of the little mantle-piece a portrait of the first Napoleon, and on the other that of Béranger. Nor are these two portraits more the indices of the peasant's character than of Frenchmen generally. The love of sword and song, it is the greatest part of their enthusiastic nature; and when the old peasant points his palsied hand to one of these portraits, he means it to be an incentive for his grandchild to glory and fame; but when he points to the other he means that to be a lesson of patriotism and kindness of heart. But there is much reason to think that the Anacreon of France has not been unappreciated across the English Channel. In fact the Conservative as well as the Liberal press has teemed with the highest encomiums upon his songs, and the old minstrel of so many vicissitudes has gone to his grave accompanied with the warmest sympathies of many an English heart. But the echoes of those songs have reached farther than across the Channel. They

have come to our own shore, and are more distinctly heard here than anywhere else out of France. The warmest admiration for Béranger, especially since his death, when a great man is always best known, has been expressed in all quarters of our country. Without subscribing in the least to his fanatical or licentious songs, we can indorse the sentiment of some of his patriotic and warm-hearted strains, for that sentiment is our own on both sides of Mason's and Dixon's Line. There can be no question that many scenes in our history, especially during the last quarter of the last century, inspired his muse with some of her noblest flights. What American can forget "*Lafayette en Amérique.*" The French will hereafter love Béranger as the Scotch love their "plough-boy poet." His songs strike the heart and they must be permanent. Years after we are all in the dust, perhaps the poor peasant will be allowed to sing them without looking around in fear of a policeman, and will forget his labor and his poverty while he does it. In some cases they have been the war-trumpet; it is to be hoped they will yet be the lyre of peace, whose notes will echo glad tidings and make happy hearts and homes from the vine-clad hills of Provence, that reflect their shadows in the Mediterranean, to the somber forests of Normandy, that skirt the English Channel. If we can reasonably indulge such a hope, then we can the more reasonably breathe the prayer which we have learned from the Roman Catholics: May he rest in peace.

ART. VII.—THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF 1857.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

THERE was a time when, from almost heathenish darkness, the Christian Church broke forth into the light of evangelical truth and freedom, when bursting the sepulcher in which she had been entombed for centuries, she arose in the power of her risen Saviour and shook off her dust. In that time the great watchword was, How shall the sinner become just before God? Justification by faith alone was then the criterion of true, living Christianity. It is still so, but not in the same sense and degree. Essential as this great fundamental doctrine of the Gospel will always be to the very being of the Church, it is not now the only and pre-eminent lever which she has to use in bringing the world to Christ.

In every age the Church of Christ has a new mission to execute, and is characterized by a new watchword, by a new seal of her Divine calling. The Reformation of the sixteenth century had for her watchword, "*Justification by faith.*" The mission of the succeeding century was, to exhibit the various truths of Divine revelation in their systematic connection as an organic whole. It was *the age of Protestant orthodoxy.* The glorious badge of the eighteenth century was, *the work of the Holy Spirit* in the regeneration of every believer, and the Divine attestation of that Spirit to the believer's adoption into the family of God.

And what is to be the watchword, the badge, the peculiar mission of the Church in the nineteenth century? She dare not lack any of the former sacred commissions, but she has a new one; it is, *the union of all Christians in the conversion of the world to God.* It is the great truth, that as the individual Christian must have a living union with the head of the body, Christ, so the whole Christian Church must become fully conscious of herself as one body, and manifest herself to others as one body, whose different members perform various functions, while the same blood runs through all parts, the same spirit animates all the members, and one and the same head guides all the motions of the body. The prismatic colors, which reflect the rays of the one great sun of the Gospel, shall no more divide Christians, but be looked upon with as much delight as the beautifully blending colors of the rainbow, or the variegated precious stones in the breastplate of Aaron. In short, the mission of our age is, by an extension of our intellectual horizon, and still more by an enlargement of our hearts, to exhibit to the world the essential unity of the Church: the unity of the Spirit, which is well compatible with the greatest variety of form; a unity of faith which worketh by love, each branch of the Church furnishing its quota for the conquest of the world, the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth. Have we not a pledge of this glorious work in the catholicity of spirit which characterizes the great awakening of this year, with its union meetings, in which no sectarian distinctions are allowed to appear, and in which Christians of all names labor side by side in their Master's vineyard?

The highest development of the kingdom of Christ on earth, the millennial period in the history of the militant Church, the great Church historian, Neander, has fitly denominated the age of St. John, the beloved disciple. "Now abide faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greatest of these is charity." May not what our Lord said of John, "I will that he tarry till I come," imply, besides

its primary meaning, this: that the spirit which characterizes the inspired writings of John, shall in all ages constitute the very essence of Christianity, and that it shall more universally and prominently pervade the Christian Church in its millennial glory, preparing the followers of Christ for his appearance, and enabling them to say with one accord: "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." St. John is the only evangelist who has recorded the cheering prophecy of the one fold and the one Shepherd, and the intercessory prayer of our great High Priest, which he commenced on earth and continues in heaven even unto the end of his mediatorial office. In that prayer, which our blessed Lord offered up not only for his apostles, but for all which should believe on him through their word, we hear him say: "I pray, that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, *that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.*" And again: "I in them and thou in me, that they may be perfect in one, *that the world may know that thou hast sent me.*"

Fitly did the ancient Christian painters symbolize St. John as an eagle. Did not his spirit soar far above the narrow dales, where the eye beholds in too great projection this and another church steeple, up into those heights around the throne of the Lamb, where nothing is seen but the smoke of the incense of prayers, ascending from every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and mingling into one pillar of praise and glory? While Paul and Peter seem affected by the differences between Hebrew and Gentile Christians, St. John appears unconscious of such difference. He sees only Christians, who "know that they have passed from death unto life, because they love the brethren." "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God; and every one that loveth him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him."

The primitive Christian Church in Jerusalem exhibited the unity for which Christ prayed, and is both a type and pledge of what the Church will be, when grown up to a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. We read in the Acts: "The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; and they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers. And all that believed were together and had all things common. And they continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people."

This consciousness of unity remained with the Church of Christ

for the three first centuries, and made the primitive Christians not only invulnerable to all the attacks of Jews and Gentiles, but enabled them to overturn the proudest empire of the world, and extorted from her bitterest enemies the cry of admiration—"Behold how these Christians love one another!"

But alas! the enemy of Him who had sowed good seed in his field, came and sowed tares among the wheat. A great apostasy took place; a wicked power arose in the Church, claiming to be her head, and making a counterfeit of the unity for which Christ had prayed, making void the word of God by human tradition, destroying the unity of the Spirit, and substituting in its stead a forced uniformity of ceremonies, boasting to be the one holy Roman Catholic Church, persecuting and driving into the wilderness the true spouse of Christ.

The blessed Reformation of the sixteenth century exposed the counterfeit unity of Romanism in all its hideousness, and laid the foundation for the true unity of Christians, by making the word of God the only rule of faith and practice, and acknowledging Jesus Christ as their only head, their only Lord and Master. But is it not strange, that so great and so manifold were the differences between Protestant Christians, though professing to be guided by the same Spirit of truth, and to draw peace, and life, and salvation from the same fountain of grace, that their discords with each other became the great stumbling-block of an unbelieving world, and the taunting boast of popery? Is it not strange, that upward of three centuries had to pass away before evangelical Protestants began to understand that their differences are accidental and unessential; that they refer not to the saving facts of Divine revelation, but to speculative comments upon these facts, having their origin in the difference of individuality, of mental capacity, of temperament, education, and other such circumstances, yea, in the very nature of man as a finite being? Is it not strange, that not before the middle of the nineteenth century some portions of the Church of Christ begin properly to understand the nature of that unity for which Christ prayed so earnestly, and upon which he makes the conversion of the world to depend? And how long will it be before the whole Christian Church will carry out this unity into practice?

It was John Wesley, in every respect far before his age, who first proposed to make the union which really exists, even when unacknowledged, in some measure *visible* and *tangible*; and he proposed it on the right basis. In 1764 he sent a circular to about fifty ministers of different evangelical denominations, asking them to pledge themselves that they would acknowledge and treat each

other as brothers in the Lord, notwithstanding their differences. He says in the circular:

"I do not ask a union in opinions. They might agree or disagree, touching absolute decrees on the one hand and perfection on the other. Not a union in expressions. These may still speak of the imputed righteousness, and those of the merits of Christ. Not a union with regard to outward order. Some may still remain quite regular, some quite irregular, and some partly regular. But these things being as they are, as each is persuaded in his own mind, is it not a most desirable thing that we should love as brethren? Think well of and honor one another? Wish all good, all grace, all gifts, all success to each other? Readily believe good of each other, as readily as we once believed evil? Speak respectfully, honorably, kindly of each other; defend each other's character; speak all the good we can of each other; recommend one another where we have influence, and each help the other in his work?

"This is the union which I have long sought after, and is it not the duty of every one of us so to do? Would it not be far better for ourselves? Would it not be better for the poor, blind world, robbing them of their sport, O, they cannot agree among themselves? Would it not be better for the whole work of God, which would then deepen and widen on every side?

"But it will never be, it is utterly impossible.' Certainly it is with men. Who imagines that it can be effected by any human power? All nature is against it, every infirmity, every wrong temper and passion, love of honor and praise, of power, of pre-eminence, anger, resentment, pride, long contracted habit and prejudice lurking in ten thousand forms. The devil and all his angels are against it. For if this takes place, how shall his kingdom stand? All the world, all that know not God are against it, though they may seem to favor it for a season. But surely with God all things are possible, 'therefore, all things are possible to him that believeth;' and this union is proposed only to them that believe, and show their faith by their works."

Thus wrote John Wesley in 1764. His appeal was not then heeded. But nearly a century later, in 1845, another attempt for Christian union was made upon exactly the same basis. Some earnest, zealous Christians in Scotland issued a circular, in which they say: "Our age seems especially to demand that unity of Christians for which the Saviour prayed, and which he designates as the principal agency in the conversion of the world. The call for union has been heard from every part of Christendom. The need of it is felt as it has never been before. To what causes shall we ascribe this universal and unanimous desire after true Christian union? We think (1.) to the threatening aggressions of popery. (2.) To the prevalence of Infidelity. (3.) To the necessities of the heathen world. (4.) To the condition of Protestantism itself. But who, what kind of persons shall unite to form this alliance? What are the uniting doctrines of parties differing so much from each other as the different Protestant denominations do? If we cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question, the world will not believe us when we tell them there is such a thing as Christian union."

In answer to this circular, a large number of Christians assembled at Liverpool, representing some twenty different Church organizations. They came together with the purpose to ascertain how far they were united in the articles of their faith, and for what purposes or objects they could unite with each other. The result of the first convention, which lasted several days, was the confident conviction, that the different so-called evangelical denominations held in common all the fundamental articles of evangelical Christianity. Another convention was called together, to meet August 19, 1846, in London. There were assembled about one thousand brethren from England and America. A few of them were from the continent of Europe. They formed the Evangelical Alliance upon the following principles. *In the first place*, they asserted expressly that their object was not to make but to manifest and declare the unity between all Bible Christians. They did not claim to be a new ecclesiastical organization, nor a confederation of Christian Churches, but simply of Christian individuals, each of whom acted on his own responsibility. *Secondly*. By forming this alliance the members disclaimed to give up any principle or doctrine peculiar to their own respective denomination, or the right to refute opposite principles or doctrines, only so that it be done in the spirit of love, which acknowledges the difference to be among brethren. *Thirdly*. They asserted their unity in the essential articles of the Christian faith, by acknowledging the following nine points:

1. The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.
2. The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of persons therein.
3. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall.
4. The incarnation of the Son of God, his work of redemption for sinners of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign.
5. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.
6. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.
7. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.
8. The Divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper.
9. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked.

They added to the above articles the distinct declaration: *First.* That this brief summary is not to be regarded, in any formal or ecclesiastical sense, as a creed or confession; nor the adoption of it, as involving an assumption of the right authoritatively to define the limits of Christian brotherhood, but simply as an indication of the class of persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Evangelical Alliance. *Secondly.* That the selection of certain tenets, with the omission of others, is not to be held as implying that the former constitute the whole body of important truths, or that the latter are unimportant. *Finally.* They declared the objects or purposes for which this alliance was formed to be the following:

1. To show the world that, with all their variety in minor matters, evangelical Christians have the true and genuine catholicity, in contradistinction to the false and forced uniformity of the Romish Church.

2. To keep this unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace; to avoid all bitterness, and clamor, and evil speaking, in matters of religious difference between each other.

3. To unite our efforts against infidelity, and popery, and sin, and error of every kind; to pray with and for each other; to aid our suffering and persecuted brethren in Roman Catholic countries, and to collect reports concerning the state of the kingdom of Christ in every part of the world.

Do not the character and objects of the Evangelical Alliance recommend themselves to the judgment and conscience of every enlightened and earnest Christian? The meetings held in Liverpool and London for Christian union will occupy some of the brightest pages of ecclesiastical history; they promised much for the future, and if they had produced no other effect than the gathering of evangelical Christians from all countries in the city of Berlin during the month of September, 1857, the Church of Christ would have sufficient ground to praise God for the formation of the Evangelical Alliance. Nowhere else needed the principles of the Evangelical Alliance so much to be asserted, nowhere else were they less understood, and nowhere else did they meet with a greater opposition than in Protestant Germany. And yet, paradoxical as it may appear, at no time were those principles more profoundly expounded and more irrefutably defended than in Berlin; and when once fairly rooted, nowhere else will they bring an earlier and richer harvest than in Germany.

Before proceeding to sketch the Berlin Conference, we wish to prepare the reader, by a few remarks, for a proper estimate of its heart-cheering and glorious significance. In the first place, great as

the gathering was at the previous meetings of the Evangelical Alliance, it could hardly be called a *universal* representation of Evangelical Christendom, while the mother of the Reformation and the fountain of Protestant theology, Germany, had no part in it. That she entered, in 1857, into the Evangelical Confederation, with an overwhelming majority of her most distinguished divines, professors, and pastors, makes us exclaim, "What has God wrought!" Within the memory of many yet living, the orthodox Professor Knapp, at Halle, who had seven hundred theological students, wrote to a Moravian brother: "The Lord answered my prayer to give me one scholar that believes in Christ." Not many years ago Dr. Tholuck had to complain: "The professed ministry of Christ has destroyed the temple of their Lord. The doctors of divinity, clad in their official robes, with violent hands have torn the Lord Jesus from his throne, and placed in his stead a phantom, which they call reason." But thanks be to God, "they are dead which sought the young child's life." The Spirit of the Lord swept again through the length and breadth of the land of the Reformation, and the dry dead bones that had been buried for half a century in the sand of a lifeless orthodoxy, and for another half century in the dark caverns of infidelity, were brought to life. Rationalism is now totally overthrown and put to shame and confusion, not only by the theological but by the philosophical schools of Germany. From the cathedra and the pulpit, from popular and learned literature, from universities and common schools, even from some ecclesiastical consistories and royal courts, streams of living water are proceeding, refreshing many thirsty souls, and promising to change the wilderness into a garden of the Lord. Frederic the Great, Voltaire's companion, had called a theologian an animal without reason, and behold! his descendant invites the evangelical Christians of all countries to hold a conference in his capital, attends that conference in person, and desires, individually, to shake hands with the members of the Alliance in his own palace. Well did the president of the Alliance, in addressing the king, remark: "His majesty had seen many imposing armies, but never one like the present—an army not arrayed in ordinary military attire, but ready to fight the battles of the King of kings with the sword of the Spirit, the shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation." Truly a little one became a thousand, and a small one a strong nation. The Lord hastened it. What a marvelous change!

And was it not an equally wonderful working of Providence, that just at a period when the newly awakened Evangelical Church of Germany was in imminent peril of being shipwrecked on the rocks of

confessional strife, and of losing her new spiritual life again in expecting salvation from the dead letter of old creeds, from ceremonies and sacraments, and from priestly absolution; when Lutherans began again to anathematize their Reformed brethren, and refused to sit down with them at the Lord's table; when true evangelical religion was threatened, not only by the direct aggressions of the Romish Propaganda, but also by the leaven of Protestant High Churchism; was it not a gracious interference of Providence, we ask, that at this critical period such a demonstration of true Protestant principles as the Berlin Conference took place? How great a sensation and effect that demonstration made upon Germany, we may conceive from the bitter tone in which the High-Church party, whose organ, we regret to say, is Dr. Hengstenberg's *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, speaks of the Evangelical Alliance. In describing a session of the Conference the writer discourses as follows:

"Now the foreigners get the floor, Americans and Scotchmen, all of them schismatics. They speak full of fire and vigor in English. In every syllable of their address, in every accent of their voluble tongue, in every motion of their excited countenances, exultation and triumph speaks, as if they would say to us, Your Lutheran Church is also nothing but a sect, a denomination at the side of other denominations. You have now acknowledged it by a matter of fact. We have as much truth as the high tories of your capital. Evangelical truth is nothing but the conglomeration of a hundred heresies. It was the proud consciousness of having now at last torn the distinguishing diploma of evangelical orthodoxy from the trembling hands of the Lutheran Church, that caused the joyful enthusiasm of these foreigners."

Such language, without comment, shows sufficiently how much the Evangelical Alliance was needed in Germany. Closely connected with this consideration is the momentous influence of the alliance in favor of *religious liberty*, in which respect Protestant Germany is yet so far behind the times. Never before was the right of religious worship, according to every one's conscience, so boldly asserted and so powerfully defended on German soil, as it was done by the members of the alliance in the very hearing of the King of Prussia. It is true, religious liberty had been claimed in Germany through the whole period of the reign of Rationalism, but it was only a religious liberty in favor of infidelity, and on the ground of indifferentism to all religion. The Evangelical Alliance, for the first time, advocated the freedom of worship on the Scriptural ground that man is justified by faith; that without faith it is impossible to please God; that such faith is matter of conscience; that Protestantism rests, therefore, upon the personal moral responsibility of the individual. From this stand-point the Evangelical Alliance gave a clear testimony against every species of intolerance which state Churches are more or less guilty of, and urged, more strongly than had ever been

done before in Germany, the independence of religion from the state. And this was not the least cause why the High-Church party denounced the Alliance so bitterly. It was one of the reasons which induced Mr. Von Stahl, a principal leader of that party, to give in his resignation as a member of the Prussian consistory, when the king unequivocally pronounced in favor of the Alliance.

Finally, the Berlin Conference is not only of great practical importance on account of its powerful testimony against Protestant intolerance, but also on account of the actual aid she promised to the *oppressed Protestants* in Roman Catholic countries, which promise she is well able to fulfill. And lastly, though not least, the Berlin Conference is of great significance, because she opened the way for a future *closer union between English and German theology*, and between English and German Christians. But all this you will much better apprehend when you hear what was said and done in Berlin.

Let us, therefore, go there and see who are assembled in that spacious old Garrison Church, and what they are doing there. The assembly consists of 1254 regularly enrolled members, 979 are from the different parts of Germany, 1 from Spain, 12 from France, 2 from Italy, 7 from Austria, 11 from Switzerland, 10 from Holland, 4 from Belgium, 166 from Great Britain, 11 from Denmark, 2 from Sweden, 12 from Prussia, 2 from Turkey, 2 from Greece, in all from Europe, 1222; from Asia 3, from Africa 3, from Australia 3, and from America 23. Of the members there were 29 Professors of Universities, 689 ministers, 90 teachers, 12 military officers, 85 government civil officers, 349 private laymen.

The meeting was to last from the 9th to the 17th of September. According to the order laid down, the first service was held at the Garrison Church, the use of which was, expressly granted by the king for the whole session of the Alliance. On Wednesday evening, at 5 P.M., the service was commenced with Mendelssohn's One Hundredth Psalm, performed by the royal cathedral choir. In order to facilitate the congregational singing, the melodies to be sung were printed, with the words arranged for the occasion, in German, French, and English. The services on Wednesday evening were purely devotional, prayer being offered in the three languages.

On Thursday morning at ten o'clock the service was commenced with prayer, after which the Rev. Dr. Krummacher, court chaplain at Potsdam, and so well known by his writings, proceeded with his address of welcome:

"Welcome," he exclaimed, "reverend gentlemen, beloved brethren, from East and West, from North and South, welcome under the pro-

tecting wings of the Prussian eagle, but thrice welcome in the name of Him of whom the royal bard sings: 'How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings!' Have we not to-day a foretaste of what we shall once enjoy together with all God's children around his shining throne? Such a scene as this has never been seen on German soil. True we have had our blessed Church days; but in them we had no representation from a Bunyan, the Baptist, who pointed to us the way to heaven; no representation from Wesley and Whitefield, the fathers of Methodism, who blew the mighty trumpet when death reigned on every side, and the Church presented the appearance of a mausoleum; no representation from men like Chalmers, the witness with the tongue of fire, the founder of the Free Church of Scotland. To-day these men of God, with their spirit and their successors, are in the midst of us; the old partition walls are fallen; the fire of brotherly love melted the old rusty fetters away; the communion of saints appears visibly. Far above all the denominational standards we see waving the great imperial banner of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the inscription: 'One faith, one hope, one God and Father of us all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all.' The words of the Psalmist are this day fulfilled with us: 'It shall be said of Zion, this man and that man was born there. The Highest shall establish her. All my well-springs are in thee.' "

This is a specimen of the spirit and eloquence of the address. He proceeded then to state, that the meeting had not been assembled without encountering great opposition, even from men who were highly esteemed by the German Church as champions and leaders in the great struggle against infidelity. The objections from them were threefold: *first*, that there was no inward truth in the proposed evangelical union; it was a mere sham. He refuted this objection by a beautiful delineation of those doctrines from which no real Christian would be willing to dissent. The unity that deserved the name of "sham" was that of a mechanical ecclesiastical despotism, a mere lip confession, an attachment in word and letter to the symbol of a dead orthodoxy. The *second* objection was, that the movement was not suitable to the present age, and especially unsuitable to the tendencies of the German people. He asserted the direct contrary. "What so seasonable as the union of all who professed the truth, against the antichristianity and the pseudo-Christianity, now prevailing so widely in every land? What so seasonable as the united prayer of all true Christians for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Church of Christ, so much divided against herself? What so seasonable as an energetic pro-

test against the miserable scholastic theological disputes about the subtleties of the Christian faith, with which German Christians were becoming nauseated? What so seasonable as a protest against the attempt to revive the narrow-mindedness and cold-heartedness of the seventeenth century, which regarded all sympathy and friendly intercourse between the disciples of Luther and Calvin and Zwingli as an apostasy from the Christian faith. What so seasonable as an energetic protest against the attempt to introduce human mediation into the Protestant Church, to turn the Church of the Bible into a Church of sacraments. There might be some truth in the objection to which he had referred, if it was designed by the present movement to tear asunder the chain of historical connection subsisting between the present generation of German Christians and their forefathers, from the Reformation downward; to introduce in their midst by violent means institutions and views which belong to other lands; to Anglicize or Gallicize, or Americanize the Church in Germany. This, however, was not the object of the movement, and ought not to be. Still there should be an interchange of the gifts and graces peculiar to the different nations and denominations; hence he welcomed the fire of *France*, the martyr spirit of *Italy*, the world-subduing, apostolical courage of *England*, which was satisfied with nothing short of bringing the whole human race to the cross of Christ; the doctrinal completeness, morality, and purity of *Scotland*; the sobriety of *Holland*; the reverence toward the inspired letter of the Bible which characterized the *Americans*. Give us, ye *Methodists*, of your ardent zeal of enlisting every single individual for the service of Christ; give us, ye *Presbyterians*, of your willingness to contribute; ye *Baptists*, of your Church order; ye *Episcopalians*, of your reverence for the Church as a Divine institution; ye *Moravians*, of your large-heartedness and readiness to see in every Christian a brother and a friend. As to the *third* argument against the alliance, that it had no practical aim, if that were so, why attack it with such zeal and earnestness? Why use so much eloquence against that which was about to fail by its own imbecility, and vanish, as it was said, like water? Yes, it would vanish like water; but like the waters of the Nile, which when they retreated left the seeds of fertility behind. He prayed, in conclusion, that the great Head of the Church might be present among them to fill the house with his glory, as aforetime he filled the temple at Jerusalem, and that all hearts might fall prostrate before him, giving him alone the glory and praise."

After Doctor Krummacher's address, salutations from different Churches, nations, and individuals, were presented; we have room only for two, which will most interest our readers.

The honorable J. A. Wright, our minister at the court of Berlin, said: "He rejoiced to unite his voice with that of the Christians of the Old World, and to express his thankfulness at what he witnessed at the meeting of the Alliance. Little did he suppose that he should ever see in Berlin the mingling of men from different nations of the earth, promulgating the one doctrine of faith in Christ. As a layman he had sought to give his voice and influence for the cause of Christ; and if there was one principle in which he had any faith, it was a reliance upon the book of God, without note or comment, circulated among the masses of the people. This was the only safe foundation for the state, the Church, and the family. He could not sit down without saying how much he had admired in Germany the love of family and home which universally prevailed; for he had no faith in any system of Christianity that did not take the great promise of God to Abraham, that in him all the *families* of the earth should be blessed."

When Mr. Wright sat down, Bishop Simpson was called upon, and presenting the introductory letter and credentials, which Bishops Waugh and Morris had given to the writer of this article, said: "He desired to bring to the meeting the cordial greetings of America and of American Methodism. He had been delighted to be present on that occasion, and in listening to the address of Doctor Krummacher, he had almost fancied that he had heard the voice of Luther again on the earth. Americans, so far as he understood their feelings, rejoiced in that Christian alliance, an alliance not of creed and organization, but an alliance in heart and Christian activity. It reminded him of the little streams rising in the great mountains, which, though they could slake the thirst of the weary, could never carry the treasures of commerce to the world, till they blended in one mighty river. The American national organization was somewhat analogous to the Christian alliance; they had individual states, each independent, but united into one great national confederation. America, too, has a kind of alliance in itself, composed of all races in the world, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, mingling into one people, and he believed their prayer from one ocean to the other, from valley to mountain-top, was that the song might yet be sung that Christians everywhere were one in Christ. As Methodists, his community loved the name of Luther, for from him Wesley derived much of his theology."

The afternoon session of the first day was also of an introductory nature. Professor Jacobi, of Halle, had been appointed to lecture on the character of this meeting of evangelical Christians, compared with the ecclesiastical councils and convocations of former

times. It was a very learned discourse. He showed how the ancient Church councils consisted only of clergymen, to the exclusion of the laity, and exercised an imperious authority over the conscience of the individual, to which the latter was obliged to submit against his conviction and better knowledge. The idea of the true Church consisting of all true believers, each of whom had the same right of private judgment, was not conceived before the Reformation; its basis was justification by faith. Inseparably connected with it were the distinction between the visible and invisible Church, and the universal priesthood of Christians. The Evangelical Alliance was the first ecclesiastical council that consistently carried out these premises; it would not weaken the authority of any existing creed, but aimed to subordinate the different creeds to a higher unity, which would enable all true Christians to combine their strength against their common enemies.

Professor Jacobi was followed by Dr. Merle d'Aubigné, the celebrated author of the *History of the Reformation*, a tall, majestic old gentleman. Though a Frenchman he addressed the audience in good German, with great simplicity and cordiality. After some introductory remarks, he said the Evangelical Alliance aimed at true catholicity, placing it in the mystical body of Christ, which had four bonds of union—the atonement of Christ, the word of God, the Holy Spirit, and the Lord's Supper. In conclusion, he said: "Now, honored and beloved German friends, since in the Evangelical Alliance so many strong bonds of union are to be found, let us be brethren with all Christ's brethren, and to all such stretch out our hands. There is need for this. Our age shows mighty signs of changes which are approaching. 'Upon earth distress of nations, with perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring,' says our Lord. Now it is a glorious sign of the times, that hundreds are here gathered together, not only from all European, but also from all other lands, with one voice to bear witness to their union in the living truths of salvation. Christ is in the midst of us, we are here in him, and he in us. As he has given the command of unity, so will he also give the fulfillment. It was said to me, the Evangelical Alliance has few adherents in Germany. I could not believe it. This large assembly testifies to the contrary. The idea of the Alliance is exalted, holy, divine, and Germany has perceptions for great ideas. She would be false to herself if she refused to stretch forth her hand to all who are Christ's. Germany began the great Reformation. She has an ecumenical, perpetual vocation. May she never forego her birthright. The Lord has many members in his body; and only to adduce two, the Anglo-Saxon and German races, both

have their work to accomplish in this world. I wonder at the learning of the one, at the activity of the other. Let us not divide them. The eye cannot say, I need not the ear; the hand must not say, I need not the foot. Let us in God's kingdom make use of all energies. Christ has prepared for us in heaven an eternal joy; we on earth must prepare for him the joy of fulfilling his heart's desire: 'I pray that they may be one in me.' From every land, from all ends of the world, let us with one heart exclaim: 'Glory to God in the highest! Peace, peace, peace on earth! and good-will toward men!'"

ART. VIII.—NOTT'S LECTURES ON TEMPERANCE.

Lectures on Temperance. By ELIPHALET NOTT, D.D., LL.D., President of Union College. With an Introduction, by TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D., Professor of Greek in Union College. Edited by AMASA MCCOY, late Editor of the Prohibitionist. (pp. 341. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 115 Nassau-street. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. Chicago: S. C. Briggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1857.)

IN taking up the Bible for an examination of its bearings on the temperance reformation, we perceive that its *first* teaching on this subject is TEMPERANCE in its broadest sense, which is, the proper regulation of all the appetites and passions.

"But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Gal. v, 22, 23. As Paul "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled." Acts xxiv, 25. This temperance implies moderation in food, in apparel, in the use of all our powers. This view would imply that we should be moderate in the use of wine, just as we would be in the use of bread and water, but nothing more. This, some say, is the temperance of the Bible. Such, indeed, is the doctrine of the Bible with regard to all useful, necessary, and perfectly innocent enjoyments; temperance is their moderate and rightful use.

2. The Bible, secondly, teaches something more than this; it marks as sinful that use of alcoholic liquors which produces a certain effect called drunkenness. "Be not deceived; neither fornicators, . . . nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdom of God." 1 Cor. vi, 9, 10. Does the Bible approve that which intoxicates, but condemn to hell the poor wretch who is destroyed by it? Does the Bible condemn the thief, and yet approve

stealing? Or does it permit men to covet if they will only not steal? When Ahab coveted the vineyard of Naboth, he was, in his heart, cherishing the incipient crime. The man who indulges in that drink which will intoxicate, is just so far violating the Divine command as that drink tends to induce drunkenness. Absolute drunkenness causes stupefaction, and a consequent forgetfulness of the duties we owe to society and to God. But before this state is attained, before the individual has lost the control of his faculties, there is an undue stimulation of the appetites and the passions which leads to sin. Now, if the Bible condemns drunkenness as sinful, it includes in the condemnation those incitements to sin which appear before intoxication ends in bestiality. The Bible, by its prohibition, marks the bound between right and wrong. Now if, as facts prove, a great proportion of those who use alcoholic drinks become drunkards, the use of these liquors, even in moderate quantities, is a sin forbidden by the Bible. It is forbidden, not because such liquors are sweet, or sour, or are made from the juice of the grape, the date, or the apple, but simply because they intoxicate. Therefore we must conclude that *the Bible, in forbidding the sin of drunkenness, also forbids such a use of alcoholic liquors as naturally and inevitably leads to that sin.*

3. The Bible insists on total abstinence from intoxicating wines, on the very ground of their intoxicating qualities. This doctrine, as we have shown under the previous position, is implied in the Bible teaching with regard to drunkenness; but we now propose to show that express precept exists with regard to the intoxicating element. "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his color in the cup, *when it moveth itself aright*; at the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder." Prov. xxiii, 31, 32. Here, in the last clause, the effect of intoxicating wine is plainly described: "It biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder." No one dare contend that unfermented wine will do this. But the fermenting power producing alcohol is more particularly specified; it is red, (or, more accurately, groweth red); "*it moveth itself aright*." These verbs, in the Hebrew, are, if possible, still more expressive, being in the Hithpael, which signifies *reflexive action*; as, hith-kad-daish, to sanctify one's self, or, as in the text quoted, hith-hal-laich, to move one's self, or itself.*

"Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." Prov. xx, 1. "The nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad." Jer. li, 7. But abstinence is commanded, on account of these intoxicating

* Rodiger's Gesenius' Hebrew Gr., p. 117.

qualities. "Look not thou upon the wine." "How long wilt thou be drunken? Put away thy wine from thee." 1 Sam. i, 14. "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess, but be filled with the Spirit." Eph. v, 18.

It might possibly be objected, that the Scriptures approve wine precisely on account of its intoxicating qualities. We deny this, except in case of its medicinal use. "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish." Prov. xxxi, 6. "But," says one, "is not this very exhilarating quality approved, when the Psalmist speaks of 'wine that maketh glad the heart of man.' (Psa. civ, 15.) And is not wine that 'which cheereth God and man?'" Judges ix, 13. *Exhilaration* is a very different term from *gladness*; the one expresses the natural consequences of intoxication, the other an innocent satisfaction. But the meaning of both these passages is determined by Psa. iv, 7: "Thou hast put gladness in my heart more than in the time *that* their corn and their wine increased." The same word, שמחה, *sahmagh*, *cheereth*, *maketh glad*, and *gladness*, is used in all of these passages; the only difference being that, in Psalm iv, the word takes the form of a noun, in the other two that of a verb. Now the plainest English reader can see, at a glance, that no other joy is intended than that which can be produced by *corn*, as well as by *wine*. If men can become exhilarated or intoxicated on corn-cake, then very possibly might one show that the exhilarations of alcohol meet with the Divine approval.

Therefore, we come to the conclusion that *the Bible, instead of approving of liquors because of their intoxicating power, for this very reason condemns them.*

4. The Bible discriminates in speaking of wine and other liquors, giving its approval to them in proportion as they are free from the intoxicating element. "... The new wine is found in the cluster, and *one* saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing *is* in it..." Isaiah lxxv, 3. "Come, buy wine and milk without money, and without price." Isaiah lv, 1. "Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine *which* I have mingled." Proverbs ix, 5. Probably most of our readers can remember when they were told that total abstinence is fanatical, and contrary to the Scriptures; that wine is good, and to take a little is not only right, but a duty; and that it is wicked to refuse a *blessing of God* to any man. Even an ordinary reader of the Scriptures can see that this mode of interpretation causes them to contradict themselves. "Come, drink of the wine..." "Look not on the wine." "Come, buy wine and milk." "Put away thy wine from thee." "The new wine is found in the cluster;... a blessing is in it." "For at the last it biteth like a serpent." "Wine is a

mocked." "Give wine to him that is of a heavy heart." "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink." The true explanation of these difficulties is found in the fact that *wine* (יַיִן, *yayin*, οἶνος, *oinos*, vinum) is a *generic* term, including the unintoxicating as well as the intoxicating wine.

Dr. Kitto observes: "Yayin, in Bible use, is a very general term, including every species of wine made from grapes, (οἶνος ἀμπελίνος,) though in later ages it became extended in its application to wine made from other substances." Again: "Οἶνος, the Greek generic term for wine, from the Hebrew *yayin*."

Therefore it would not be fair for either side in this controversy to insist, when the term wine is used in the Bible, that the kind of wine which they approve is intended. But, inasmuch as the Bible condemns drunkenness, and speaks in terms of reprobation of wine that intoxicates, we ought to believe, when it speaks approvingly of wine, that it intends pure, unintoxicating wine, until it is proved otherwise.

The study of the Greek and the Hebrew terms employed in the Scriptures, though not indispensable, adds to the force of this argument. *Tirosh*, טִירוֹשׁ, new wine, we find approved, or spoken of without condemnation, some thirty-seven times, and mentioned doubtfully but once. This term signifies the juice of the grape first expressed, and hence most free from the intoxicating element. A good example of the distinction between *tirosh* and *yayin*, is found in Micah vi, 15. "Thou shalt sow, but thou shalt not reap; thou shalt tread the olives, but thou shalt not anoint thee with oil; and (*tirosh*) sweet wine, but shalt not drink (*yayin*) wine;" that is: "Thou shalt tread *tirosh*, or the cluster, or new wine, but shalt not drink *yayin*, or old wine from it." The primary meaning of this word is seen from the fact that it is frequently used with corn, and other fruits of the earth. Genesis xxvii, 28. This would be proper in speaking of grapes in the cluster, or of the fresh juice of the grape. Hosea iv, 11, may be an exception, and constitute a secondary meaning, but does not overthrow the rule. From a learned pamphlet, embracing three sermons on "Bible Temperance," by Joseph M'Carrol, D.D., I take the following language: "From these statements it appears that fermentation commences spontaneously, as soon as the juice is expressed and exposed to the air, in a moderate temperature, and therefore that unfermented wine is a nonentity."*

Probably my truly learned and excellent friend, has greatly modified his views on this subject since 1841. It will be evident, however, that his remarks do not at all embarrass this argument, since

* Bible Temperance, p. 29, note.

we have not conducted it on the exclusive ground that no wine was intoxicating, while his own view is only maintained by the assumption of a position which has already been shown to be untenable, namely, that all ancient wines were intoxicating. The objection here stated is fully answered, in accordance with the views expressed in this paper, by the learned and acute Dr. Tayler Lewis, in his introduction to Dr. Nott's Lectures. "In modern, as well as in ancient times, practical moral results furnish better rules than any chemical tests. It was not anciently, as it is not even now, a question of alcohol as determined by grains, but a higher question, a question of *intoxication* as an admitted evil state. The wine that did not intoxicate, and was not used to intoxicate, or *sought to intoxicate*, was good; a blessing was in it. The wine that did intoxicate, and was *sought for that purpose*, was bad; it was pronounced a woe and a curse."*

Ausis, sweet wine, is mentioned four or five times approvingly.

Shemarim is mentioned three times, and is sometimes translated dregs, because *shahmar* signifies to keep, preserve, guard. In Isaiah xxv, 6, a passage that seems to have been overlooked, it is rendered "wine on the lees," purified by keeping from the air, and well refined, that is, "lees racked off." (Gesenius.) This mode of keeping wine sweet is mentioned Jeremiah xlviii, 11:

"Moab hath been at ease from his youth,
And he hath settled upon his lees;
Nor hath he been drawn off from vessel to vessel,
Neither hath he gone into captivity:
Wherefore his taste remaineth in him,
And his flavor is not changed."

This exposition of Isaiah xxv, 6, is sustained by the Septuagint, and also by the German of Luther. Old wines were not necessarily intoxicating, and even when they were so, were frequently mixed with water, and often were used only to flavor the water.†

Shechar is generally translated strong drink; it is also a generic term, and must have represented a palm wine, which was sweet, and without injury when first made, like our cider. But it fermented sooner and more powerfully than grape juice. Livingstone‡ mentions a kind of palm wine, made by the natives in Africa, that fermented by standing till afternoon, and was very intoxicating. One form of this word is used almost universally to signify drunkenness, against which the thundering rebuke of the word of God is directed, declaring that those who indulge in that vice can never enter

* Introduction to Dr. Nott's Lectures on Temperance, p. xviii.

† See Anthon's Excursus on the Wines of the Ancients—quoted from Henderson.

‡ Travels, p. 445.

heaven. Something may be learned by the number of times these terms are employed with approbation, or disapprobation, but the true law of interpretation is seen, from the use of these terms in relation to the intoxicating element. We perceive that approval is full and express where no intoxicating element exists, and that it grows fainter as that element increases, until finally it is lost in condemnation when that element is strongest. These terms are all that are important to this argument; for others employed in the Old Testament, the reader is referred to the table found in the appendix to Dr. Nott's lectures. We find the same law in the use of terms in the New Testament. We discover, indeed, fewer encomiums of wine, probably accounted for by the supposition that the wines of the day were not so pure and harmless as those of earlier times. We have, however, *the fruit of the vine*, Matthew xxvi, 29, *γεννημα της αμπελου*, answering to *שִׁירֵי, tirosh*; and *οἶνος, oinos*, answering to *יַיִן, yayin, wine*, and *שֵׁכָר, shechar*, *שֵׁכָר, strong drink*, transferred from the Hebrew to designate a peculiar Oriental palm wine. There was also *γλευκος*, or sweet wine, that might also, generally, answer to *tirosh*.

The following passage is referred to in this controversy: "For John the Baptist came neither eating bread, nor drinking wine; and ye say, He hath a devil. The Son of man is come eating and drinking, and ye say, Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." Luke vii, 33, 34. It is said our Saviour must have been a wine-drinker. It may be; but this passage does not prove it. The language is that of an objector, and is supposed to be false, for Jesus adds, "Wisdom is justified of all her children." It does not follow that Jesus drank intoxicating wine, or indeed that he deserved to be called a wine-drinker," *οινοποτης*, any more than it follows that John had a devil, because certain vile men said so.

The marriage at Cana of Galilee, where Jesus turned the water into wine, is alluded to with great confidence, by the foes of total abstinence: but what does it prove? that Jesus made intoxicating wine? No! rather, by analogy, it should be like the new wine, fresh drawn from the grape, the purple fruit which God hangs in his own sunshine and dew. But we are told the governor of the feast called the bridegroom, and said to him: "Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse; but thou hast kept the good wine until now." John ii, 10. Stress is laid on the fact that the wine is called *good*. To assert that no wine is good but that which intoxicates, would be begging the question. That it was *good*, in our view, rather proves

its sweetness. And if the feast lasted for a week, as was customary in the East, the quantity of wine was, no doubt, intended to supply a large company for that length of time. Can the denunciations of the Bible thunder against the sinner, while Jesus, the Son of God invites in the way of the sin? "God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man." We cannot close this part of the argument more appropriately than in the eloquent language of Dr. Nott: "And yet, had the process of producing intoxicating wine never been discovered, nor a drop of intoxicating wine produced, the commendations of the vine contained in the Bible would not have been a whit the less intelligible, or pertinent, or proper on that account. And were that discovery lost, the fact of its existence forgotten, and the very law of God, by which it is produced, obliterated from the book of nature, no obliterations would, in consequence, be required from the book of revelation, except only the obliterations of the cautions therein contained in relation to the juice of the grape in form of intoxicating wine; and except, also, the recorded condemnation of that drunkenness that springs from the use of such wine."* Therefore we conclude that the Bible in its praises of wine discriminates justly, approving only of that which is unintoxicating and uninjurious.

5. The intoxicating qualities of the liquors of the present day will determine the sinfulness of their use, and show just precisely where the temperance reform links on to the Bible. The only way in which we can conduct an argument from the Bible either for or against the use, as a beverage, of the intoxicating liquors of the present day, is *by a parallel*. If a parallel case can be proved, then the argument holds, but if not, not. The only point of importance to determine is their intoxicating power, for on this the battle turns. Will any one pretend that the modern *distilled* liquors, which are a refinement of iniquity not known in Old Testament times, are approved by the Bible. As well might one assert that a bed of burning coals is as harmless as a bed of roses. If *gin*, *brandy*, and *rum* be such a great blessing, if the parallel holds, they may appropriately take the place of the wine mentioned with approval in the Bible. Who could bear to see that beautiful invitation of the prophet thus perverted: "Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters: and he that hath no money, come! buy and eat; yea, buy wine and milk without money and without price?" We can easily perceive what would be RUM "without price"—it would be the paradise of drunkards.

Another consideration worthy to be entertained is this: Can that

* Nott's Lectures on Temperance, p. 156.

which produces so much crime, pauperism, and suffering, be itself innocent, and allied to that cluster spoken of in the Bible, in which a blessing is said to be?

"There's not a crime
But takes its proper change out still in crime,
If once rung on the counter of this world;
Let sinners look to it."

It is often alleged in defense even of the use of distilled liquors as a beverage, "that the abuse of a thing good in itself, does not afford a valid argument against the right use of it." This objection has been well met by the late Archdeacon Jeffreys of Bombay.* He says:

"The truth is, that the adage is only true under certain general limitations; and that out of these, so far from being true, it is utterly false and a mischievous fallacy. And the limitations are these: If it be found by experience that in the general practice of the times in which we live, the abuse is only the solitary exception, whereas the right use is the general rule, so that the whole amount of good resulting from its right use exceeds the whole amount of evil resulting from its partial abuse, then the article in question, whatever it be, is fully entitled to the benefit of the adage; and it would not be the absolute and imperative duty of the Christian to give it up on account of its partial abuse. This is precisely the position in which stand all the gifts of Providence, and all the enjoyments of life; for there is not one of them which the wickedness of man does not more or less abuse. But, on the other hand, if it be found by experience that there is something so deceitful and ensnaring in the article itself, or something so peculiarly untoward connected with the use of it in the present age, that the whole amount of crime, and misery, and wretchedness connected with the abuse of it greatly exceeds the whole amount of benefit arising from the right use of it, then the argument becomes a mischievous fallacy; the article in question is not entitled to the benefit of it, and it becomes the duty of every good man to get rid of it."

Judging the distilled liquors of the present day, and indeed the whole modern liquor traffic, on these grounds, we must deny their parallel with the wines approved in the Bible. Indeed, when we consider the drugged wines of the present day, the strychnine whisky, the base adulterations from the infernal vaults of our great and corrupt cities, we feel more than justified in classing the intoxicating liquors of the present day with the wine which is a mocker, and that biteth like a serpent. He that drinks them "shall be as he that lieth down in the midst of the sea, or as he that lieth upon the top of a mast." "So extensively was adulteration practiced in France, that the Rev. Dr. Baird stated that certain persons appointed by government to test the purity of liquors by tasting, were compelled to resign to escape from death by poisoning." Therefore the temperance reform, in denouncing the intoxicating

* Nott's Temperance Lectures, App., p. 338.

element, as well as the poisonous adulterations of our modern liquors, is sustained by the Bible.

6. The Old Testament Scriptures represent total abstinence from all wines and from intoxicating drinks to be the duty of *some persons*; and they also represent total abstinence to be necessary according to the danger from the intoxicating element.

Just here, where the modern temperance reform is accused of departing most widely from the Bible, it links on to it again, with a hold which nothing can break. It has been said that the Koran and the modern total abstinence men are more strict than the Bible.* We deny it. The Bible enjoined upon Nazarites a temperance more strict than any to be found in the Koran: it is also more clear in its discriminations, and contains more terrible denunciations of the intoxicating element. I know the Scriptures do not speak of alcohol in scientific phrase, because they are a comprehensive guide for all ages, but they are just as clear and authoritative on this subject as if they contained the by-laws of a modern temperance society.

(1.) Nazarites were required to abstain from all wine and even from grapes. Numbers vi, 2, 3.

(2.) The priests were commanded not to drink wine or strong drink when they went into the tabernacle of the congregation to minister before the Lord. Leviticus x, 9.

According as the office was sacred it was guarded the more strictly against all danger from the intoxicating element. What shall we say of those ministers of Christ who endeavor to draw inspiration from the decanter? The greatest uninspired orator was a strict abstainer from wine. Judging from Paul's advice to Timothy, to use a little wine medicinally, total abstinence from all that intoxicates was the general apostolical practice.

(3.) The children of Jonadab, the son of Rechab, abstained from wine, in obedience to the command of their father. And because of this total abstinence the God of Israel promised, saying: "Jonadab, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before me forever." Jeremiah xxxv, 19. This is a commendation of their temperance as well as of their filial obedience, for the prophet would not have bestowed on them the approval of God, for obeying their father in a *wrong* or *fanatical* command.

(4.) Total abstinence is recommended as *the Bible* remedy for intemperance. This is fairly inferred from the three previous positions. We perceive that the converted drunkard has to abandon his cups. Conversion leads to total abstinence. Eli said to Hannah, "How long wilt thou be drunken? put away thy wine

* Bible Temperance, p. 19.

from thee." Let it be observed, we affirm that this law is revealed in the Bible; but we believe the prevalent tyranny of alcohol in our day makes it more generally applicable. The following declaration of Paul is accepted by many as the only basis of the temperance cause: "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor *anything* whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." Romans xiv, 21. We doubt the pertinency of this text to the point it is brought to prove. We think the true explanation is, that the flesh and wine spoken of was such as might have been eaten without harm to the body, but having been offered to idols, could not be used without offending the scruples of some weak brother. We would not deny that we may rightfully put in this plea of holy charity for our cause, but we should not, for this, abandon a stronger position which we may rightfully hold. Let us not remain in the trenches when we may occupy the Malakoff. I would ask, in the name of God and of humanity, if we are to be put off with the plea of charity, when souls are slaughtered by thousands. This is not a brother made weak, or caused to stumble by a habit innocent in us, but multitudes murdered outright by connivance with the demon of rum. Are Christians at liberty to stand aloof from this great reform, and say to their brethren, Go on! your conduct is praiseworthy, you can take that course if you like, but I am under no obligation to follow? If this be true, then the rules of most evangelical Churches excluding rum-dealers and guzzling professors, are unnecessarily strict and extra-scriptural. But the Churches are right, for the growing prevalence of intemperance renders total abstinence a proper test of Christian discipleship. Some might be able innocently to press and drink the grape juice of their own vineyard; but this would constitute the exception and not the rule. We may view the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the light of these great principles. (1.) The pure unintoxicating grape juice (*γεννημα της αμπελου*) is most proper for use at the Lord's Supper. (2.) The best wine of commerce *may* be used by Christians sacramentally, because, thus used, it will not intoxicate. For the sake of the tempted and the weak, unfermented wine is better. (3.) Wine diluted with water would be proper, since such was the common drink of the ancients, and might have been used by Jesus at the last supper. The intoxicating element affords no virtue, but rather vitiates the Divine appointment.

7. We may see the bearing of this argument on the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic. It is a matter of some consequence that drunkenness was subject to penalty under the Jewish theocratic law; that is, when the parents shall come forward and say, "This our

son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice, *he is a glutton and a drunkard, . . . all the men of his city shall stone him.*" Deuteronomy xxi, 20. "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth thy bottle to *him*, and makest *him* drunken also." If the drunkard is subject to civil penalties, and ultimately consigned to perdition, what should be the sentence pronounced on the drunkard maker? And what will be the doom of him who has snatched the key of heaven from another, and thrown it into a fiery ocean?

Having thus, as we believe, given the outlines of a true Bible temperance, let us turn to the examination of the book whose title stands at the head of this article. This volume we believe to be the first in which a successful attempt is made to set forth the temperance of the Bible in its scientific form. By scientific form I mean the statement of the doctrine just as it is brought out by the true laws of interpretation, in such a way as can be understood, and as will harmonize the Bible with itself. Dr. Nott was really in advance of the age when he wrote these admirable lectures. No better proof is needed that this book leads the sentiment of our times, than the fact of its republication with such success, after so many years.

We may be permitted, however, to suggest a few corrections to the publishers for the next edition. On page 56, Numbers xxviii, should be Numbers xviii. On page 57, Genesis xlviii, should be Jeremiah xlviii. In the same sentence, *fall* should be printed *fail*, and wine-press wine-presses. On page 57, Isaiah xxvii, 2, Hemer should be written instead of *yayin*. On page 59, transpose "thou not." On page 79, Joel i, 5, y for k, in awake. On page 80, 1 Chronicles xxvii, 27, "wine-sellers" should be "wine cellars. Perhaps, however, the difference is so slight it is hardly worth noticing. On page 48, *note*, "Accum or Culinary Poisons," query Accum on Culinary Poisons. In the table, page 85, Jeremiah xli, 7, should be Jeremiah li, 7. On page 86, Genesis xlv, 11, should be Genesis xlix, 11; Deuteronomy xxviii, 30, should be Deuteronomy xxviii, 39; Isaiah xxxvi, 15, should be Isaiah xxxvi, 17. In the table in the appendix, page 292, Proverbs xxxi, 44, should be Proverbs xxxi, 4. In the same table, page 294, Isaiah i, 22, seems to have got into the wrong place. *Sobhe* is improperly quoted as used with *disapprobation*, in connection with *dross*. The passage reads, "Thy silver is become dross, thy wine (*sobhe*) mixed with water." This is a parallelism, in which wine answers to silver, in representing the virtue of the people, and dross to water in representing their vice or depravity. The table, however, is generally so accurate that this error

must have been overlooked. We should be glad of space for further quotation from this excellent work, but we must refer to the book itself. Like Dr. Nott's Lectures to Young Men, it deserves to be in every family and in every library.

The temperance reform has suffered many reverses. It has to contend with appetite, interest, and error. "This vine-stock is the very vilest tyrant, at once an oppressor, a flatterer, and a hypocrite. The first draughts of his blood are sweetly relishing; but one drop incessantly entices another after it; they succeed each other like a necklace of pearls which one fears to pull apart."* But there is a noble band of champions in this cause, Lyman Beecher, Eliphalet Nott, Edward C. Delavan, Neal Dow, and others, whose renowned and venerable names were not born to die. Let us not be discouraged, although God suffers our efforts for oppressed humanity for a while to be thwarted. *δει δε τους αγαθους ανδρας εγχειρειν μεν απασιν αι τοις καλοις, την αγαθην προβαλλομενους ελπιδα, φερειν δ' ο τι αν ο θεος διδω̃ γενναιως.* These words of Demosthenes might express a Christian's faith: "Good men must needs glory always in every good cause, throwing out to steady them a generous hope, resolved to endure whatever Providence may send magnanimously." The importance of the Bible to the final success of temperance should be more generally recognized. The sword of the Spirit should not be left to slumber in its scabbard, as if we distrusted its power. As sure as the truth of God can never fail, our cause must succeed. But we cannot afford to rest now. We must work on, and fight on, until the spirit venter shall close up forever the last temple of fashionable death. Our work will only then be done, when we hear the coming of the millennial car of the Son of God. Then may we lay our armor by, and, safe from the clang of battle, rest in perpetual peace. Then may we feel content to see the star of temperance fade into the golden day of heaven.

ART. IX.—THE RELATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY TO HUMANITARIAN EFFORT.

THERE was a stupendous power in the early forms of paganism, to mold and control the minds of men. The deities of Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, though partaking of the rude and ferocious characteristics of their worshippers, developing mainly the passions

* Goethe.

of the brute man, and, by their bloodthirsty rites, extinguishing all emotions of mercy or sympathy in the human breast, had yet a stalwart energy inherent in them, which made those nations the incarnations of manly power and vigor.

While this brute force led to the commission of hideous crimes of lust and murder, yet, in the hands of Him "who is wonderful in working," it was turned to the furtherance of his great designs in the progress and development of the human race. The colossal temples of Nineveh, the vast structures of Babylon, the pyramids, columns, temples, and sphinxes which line the banks of the Nile, all evince the energizing influence of their early faith on nations whose deities were the impersonations of mere physical power.

Ages later, the intellectual development of the race had so far progressed, that the brutal and bloodthirsty deities of the earlier times were distasteful to the refined worshippers of Greece and Rome. Baal, Moloch, Saturn, the Titans, Hercules, Odin, and Thor were not the gods to whom they were disposed to pay homage; their preference was for the intriguing Jupiter, the graceful Apollo, the adroit Mercury, the skillful Vulcan, or the commerce-loving Neptune; and to these they added a host of female deities, whose various offices demonstrated the advancing culture and refinement of the race, and gave sad evidence, also, of its increasing depravity.

Under the sway of the earlier deities men had gathered into communities and nations, had carried on wars, and developed the mechanic arts necessary for their successful prosecution, had erected rude dwellings, and massive but uncouth temples, had made some advances toward the invention of letters, and, amid bloodshed and carnage, had left to the ages that followed, evidences so ample and profound of their robust vigor and energy, that only the fires of the final conflagration shall be able utterly to obliterate them.

The generations of the second era of paganism had lost something of the *physical* power of their ancestors, but *intellectual* supremacy was the controlling idea of their religion, and it was to some development of this, that every sentiment incarnated in their Pantheon tended. Wonderful was the potency of this idea. Under the plastic hands of the architects of Greece and Rome grew temples and shrines, whose beauty transcended all previous creations of genius, and which three thousand years of intellectual culture have not enabled the moderns to surpass. The sculptor and painter, alike inspired with the hope of an immortality of fame, developed from the marble or depicted upon the canvas, forms whose majestic grandeur, or exquisite loveliness, have defied the skill of all sub-

sequent time to equal. In the very dawn of letters their poets depicted, with such graphic power, the passions and emotions of the human heart, that their compositions yet form some of our finest models.

Nor were they wanting in statesmanship. Throwing aside the stern and irresponsible despotisms of the earlier ages, they tried in turn every form of government with which our earth has been blessed or cursed; now rejoicing in a patriarchy, anon changing to an oligarchy; at one time placing all power in the hands of the people, and thus inaugurating, in its widest sense, a democracy; at another, by carefully contrived checks and balances, assimilating closely to modern ideas of a republican government; trying by turns presidents, governors, kings, and emperors; a limited and an absolute monarchy, an irresponsible dictatorship, and a government of consuls, tribunes, and censors.

Philosophers and moralists were not lacking among them; and knowing, as we do, the general looseness of morals and manners, we cannot but be astonished at the lofty tone of purity, and the almost inspired character of the precepts which fell from the lips of their wise men; precepts whose influence has been felt in every subsequent age.

But the time had come when paganism, as a vital principle in the development of humanity, must die. Its force was expended; it had accomplished something of good, but much more of evil in the world's history; the few truths it had drawn from the traditions of the early worship of Jehovah, though mingled with numberless errors, had aided it in maintaining its hold upon the human heart and conscience; a purer faith, divested of these errors, and introducing new and grand truths of whose existence paganism had never dreamed, but which were of vital importance to the race, was henceforth to sway mankind. The mission of paganism was ended. As a scheme of philosophy, not less than as a system of religion, it had failed, because it had recognized man only in the mass. The *individual* was not at all the object of its consideration; all had reference to the nation, the state, the city; it was the whole people, or at least the whole patrician portion of them, and not any particular individual, which law and religion alike regarded. Suffering, sorrow, disease, or misfortune, affecting the individual, excited no sympathy in the community, evoked no aid from neighbors or friends. As a corollary from this principle, the rights of the weak were not regarded, either in law or in fact. No Roman or Greek code, enacted prior to the Christian era, recognizes the legal rights of woman, of the sick, of the insane, the blind, the deaf-mute,

or the idiot; indeed there exist no known provisions for the protection of either of these classes, of any importance, prior to the Code Justinian, A.D. 529.

Did a stranger sink with disease in the streets of Rome or Athens, there was no hospital to which he might be borne, no tender hand to cool his fevered brow, or administer to his parched lips the refreshing draught. Did he writhe with anguish, the passers-by coolly told him that he should bear with fortitude the ills sent by the gods, or, perchance, if tinctured with the Pythagorean philosophy, comforted him with the hope that in some future transmigration he might appear on earth with a more healthful body. Were thousands of soldiers slain in a war of conquest, the state reared a column to the memory of its brave warriors, not as individuals, but as a portion of the army; and no thought was given to the widows or orphans left to suffer by their untimely death. Was a citizen seized with insanity, he was suffered to roam through the streets, or if troublesome put to death; unless for state reasons his life might be valuable to the community. Thus Augustus Caesar was treated successfully for melancholy, while thousands of the insane populace were drowned or hurled from the Tarpeian rock.

Did a mother weep over her deformed, deaf, blind, or idiot child; she was urged to destroy its life; the state had no place for such helpless incumbrances; and besides, if destroyed in infancy, its return to earth in a more perfect form was probable. Bitter were the epithets of scorn heaped upon the parents who permitted so useless a progeny to live.

There was no organization intended for the relief of human suffering, or the alleviation of human misery. Of the thirty thousand gods of Greece, two only presided over the physical ills of humanity; and the priests and devotees of these acknowledged their interposition only by sacrifices and votive offerings, and not by any ministrations to the suffering or unfortunate. There were, indeed, physicans both in Greece and Rome, and some of them, like Hippocrates and Galen, eminent in their profession; but it was the rich, not the poor, who were benefited by their skill.

We have said that the mission of paganism was ended. Its death-throes, indeed, extended over the succeeding centuries; but He before whom its pomp and pageantry were to fall, at whose voice the Dodonæan oracle was dumb, and the nymphs and dryads bewailed that "great Pan was dead," had come. Along the plains of Galilee, amid the hills of Judea, and in the streets of Jerusalem, walked a man in humble garb, and of quiet demeanor, yet possess-

ing a power which, by a word, overthrew systems of idolatry which had existed for thirty centuries.

Would you know that potent word? It was LOVE; not the EROS of the Greek, even in its best sense; nor yet the CUPID of the Roman; not the earthly, base-born passion which alone the world had yet recognized; but the Divine, heavenly emotion which embraced in its sympathies every son and daughter of Adam. It was His mission to earth, as the God-man, to impart this Divine love to the human family; to exhibit it in all its phases in his earthly life, his sufferings and death, and in the way of salvation opened by his atonement for the guilty and erring.

Of this glorious atonement we have not here to speak; angelic minds, or the quickened and beatified intellects of the just made perfect, are alone adequate to such a theme; but on his life, example, and influence we may dwell; and in reviewing these, we shall find that while his mission to earth had for its highest object the redemption of the immortal spirit, he inaugurated also the relief of the bodily sufferings of man. Throughout his ministry he left no tear undried, no sorrow unalleviated, but his own. To the sick, he gave health; to the blind, sight; to the deaf, hearing; to the dumb, speech; to the lunatic, reason; to the paralytic, the use of his limbs; to the dying, life; and to the dead, a resurrection. The poor, the neglected, the outcast, were the objects of his special sympathy and regard; the humblest beggar on his dunghill, was in his view as worthy of his love as the monarch on his throne; the cripple Lazarus as the high priest in his official robes.

In man, however humble and degraded, he saw only a being destined to an immortality, either of life and glory, or of wretchedness and woe; and hence every act, every suffering, every defect of a creature awaiting such an existence, was worthy of sympathy, of care, of relief.

The influence of a mighty intellect or a great heart is never lost on the world. Though there be left to the ages that follow no written record of its wondrous deeds, or its noble and generous thoughts, yet their influence shall be transmitted by tradition from the hearts that were purified and elevated by their contact with it. So when He came whose mighty heart throbbed with the purest sympathy for human suffering, and propounded doctrines at war with the cold and selfish maxims of paganism, they found their echo in every human heart, and their reverberations have been heard along the centuries, till, like the thunder peals in the Alps, they have gathered strength from each reverberation, and their latest echo is the aggregation of all that have preceded it.

The principle of love and sympathy for our fellow-men enunciated by Him who "spoke as never man spoke," needed not to be inscribed on the page of Revelation to exert its influence on the race. It appealed to all that the fall has left in us that is just and noble; and when the disciples of Christ, from their very first organization as a Christian Church, began to manifest their solicitude for the welfare of the sick, the afflicted, the deformed, the blind, the deaf, and the insane, their conduct stood in such marked contrast with that of their pagan neighbors, and their good deeds were so worthy of praise, that even their persecutors were compelled to bear unwilling testimony to the purity of their character.

During the apostolic age, the miracles which attested the Divine power conferred on the ministers of Christ, were mostly such as relieved human defects, disease, or suffering; and after the holiness of the Christian character, and the elevation of Christian principle, had obviated the necessity of such testimony, the care of the sick, charity to the poor, and the relief of physical suffering and sorrow, were reckoned among the established duties of the Christian Church.

The appointment of deacons and deaconesses who should give special attention to these classes, the early endowment of hospitals for the sick, the care of the orphaned, and the universal recognition of the privilege and duty of almsgiving, all indicate the influence of our Saviour's teachings on the early Church.

When, at the commencement of the fourth century, Christianity had ejected paganism from political supremacy, and the first Christian emperor sat on the throne of the Cæsars, the same benign spirit still pervaded the Christian body. The gladiatorial shows, those schools in which the hard and cruel Roman had educated his taste for bloodshed and torture, were abolished, the slaves were redeemed from their thralldom, even at the sacrifice of all the revenues of many of the churches, and the Empress Helena set the noble example of establishing hospitals for the sick and insane.

As the Dark Ages drew on, and the Scandinavian hordes, with an imperfect civilization and a Christianity in which Odin and Thor had as conspicuous a place as the Divine Redeemer, precipitated themselves on the sunny plains of Southern Europe, and the Tartar tribes, with crescent borne aloft, carried fire and sword to the very gates of Constantinople, and enforced the faith of Islam on the tributaries of the Eastern empire, Christian sympathy slumbered; but though the war-trump sounded almost constantly among the nations of Christendom, and he who remained at home from the fierce contest with the infidel for the possession of the Holy Sepulcher, was often summoned to flesh his sword in the battles of con-

tending creeds; though the deeds of bloody persecution more than once excited the inquiry, whether the emotion of humanity had not died out of the hearts of men, yet there were evidences that the Divine love still possessed power on earth. Along the track of the Crusades, and even in the Holy City, when it had been rescued from the hands of the Moslem, hospitals were reared, where high-born maidens wiped the death-dews from the soldier's brow, and chanted in his dying ear that noble prayer for heavenly succor, the *Dies Ira*.

In the principal cities of Italy and France, and in Constantinople, Christian fraternities were organized, the brethren of which visited and watched with the sick, administered consolation to the dying, and followed, "with solemn step and slow," the dead to his last resting-place.

The insane, hitherto permitted for the most part to go whither their mad fancies prompted, were gathered in houses of mercy or grace, as they were called; and if the mercy to these afflicted ones was but slight, severe beatings being considered the most effectual means of exorcising the devils with which it was believed they were possessed, it was yet a mercy to community that they should be restrained from the violence which had previously made them a terror to their neighbors.*

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries are comparatively barren of incidents which would indicate the activity of the principle of Christian benevolence. The Roman pontiff aspired to rule both earth and heaven; the monastic orders, weak, selfish, vain, proud, and quarrelsome, slaves of their own passions and lusts, had but the name of Christians, while possessing none of the spirit of Christ; the nations of Christendom were ignorant, degraded, and almost wholly given to sensualism and brutality. At no period since the Christian era had Christianity so fearfully degenerated, and approached so near to the paganism it had overthrown. Yet even in this period of gloom there shines out occasionally a deed of Christian charity.

* No view of the Dark Ages from the humanitarian stand-point would be either complete or satisfactory, which should neglect to make at least a passing allusion to the influence of feudalism and chivalry. Both, in their humane aspects, seem to have been outgrowths of Christianity, resulting from its influence upon the Teutonic mind. The sense of the mutual dependence of the strong and the weak, and the lofty reverence for woman, which had in all ages been characteristic of the Teuton, intensified by the combination of Christianity and superstition, which he had accepted as the true faith, led to a fealty on the part of the feudal retainers which atones for many of the faults of the system; and induced in the true knight the manifestation of some of the most heroic and noble traits of character which have ever graced Christian manhood.

which, though it cannot much illumine the darkness, yet prevents it from becoming total and universal.

Such was the reception of the insane at Gheel, a village of Belgium, which, though commenced at an earlier date, yet had not attained to much notoriety till the twelfth century. Though connected with some pretended miracles, the restoration of hundreds of the insane here was attributable only to a quiet simple life, kind treatment, and abundant exercise and labor in the open air. Of a similar character were the efforts for the recovery of the same class by the monks of the Pyrenees in the fifteenth century. While in France, Italy, Spain, and Germany, these "souls smitten of God," as the Pyrenean fathers reverently termed them, were subjected to cruelties the thought of which makes us shudder, these simple-minded monks, in their mountain retreats, sought by gentle means, and by the soothing influence of pure air and daily labor, to bring back the wandering mind from its vagaries, and restore reason to its throne. Prayer, and the reading of God's word, were also among the curative means they adopted, and it does not surprise us to learn that their success was wonderful. In that age insanity would have been a boon to be coveted, could it have brought the sufferer to the monks of the Pyrenees. The spirit which led Oliver de la Trau, near the close of the eleventh century, to found the order of Hospitalers, who, in the three following centuries, established, throughout Southern Europe, numerous hospitals for orphans and foundlings, and thus gave to these previously neglected little ones tender nurture and instruction; and the thoughtful care which led Louis IX., better known as Saint Louis, the best of the descendants of Hugh Capet, to found, in 1260, the "*Hospice des Quinze Vingt*s, or Asylum for the Three Hundred," intended for that number of poor blind men and their families, are other instances of the existence of the spirit of Christian benevolence, even in this period of selfishness and heartlessness.

The humanitarian tendencies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were confined almost entirely to the establishment of endowed schools and universities. In Great Britain, the University of Glasgow, King's College, Aberdeen, Sion College, Winchester, and Eton, were founded during this period; and on the Continent, the fourteenth century witnessed the organization of eight of the great universities, including those of Vienna, Leipsic, and Heidelberg.

Beneath the intellectual stagnation and selfishness which existed at this period, and which had been accumulating for centuries, causes were at work which were soon to produce unexpected and startling results. The minds of the people had been interested and

awakened by the stirring events of the Crusades, and now, as the palmer's staff stood idly by the wall, and the Damascus blade rusted in its scabbard, they looked eagerly for the coming of some new event which should change the current of their thoughts, and fill the aching void in their hearts. This restless tendency of the masses is exemplified in the excitement which spread over Southern Europe at the appearance of the dancing mania, which occurred in the latter part of the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, (A. D. 1364-1418.) The prophecies and denunciations which proceeded from the lips of these demoniacs, were listened to with the deepest interest by the people, and believed to be revelations from God; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the secular authorities could control them, or convince them that these supposed revelations were merely the ravings of madmen.

The "coming events" had, indeed, "cast their shadows before;" a new era was about to dawn on man, an era of intellectual and moral activity such as the world had not yet seen; a new power was to be introduced, whose influence for good and evil on the generations to come no man might measure. The ART OF PRINTING, delayed for long ages, was brought into existence just when the quickened intellect of man demanded a more rapid and extensive power of expression. Humble were its beginnings in the fifteenth century, and small its capacities; but in our own time it has become the mightiest of human inventions, and though in the hands of the enemies of the cross it has been powerful for evil, yet the Christian looks upon it as the agent which, under God, shall be more powerful than any other in subjugating this fallen world to the dominion of his Son.

Under this new influence light began to spread; the ability to read and write, heretofore considered as the exclusive privilege of the monk, the priest, and the noble, was now claimed as the birth-right of even the humblest peasant. Nor were the earnest minds thus aroused from the slumber of ages, to be satisfied with monkish legends, fabulous lives of the saints, or tales of Amadis de Gaul, and the other knights of chivalry. The little treatise of Thomas à Kempis, "*De Imitatione Christi*," was read with eagerness, and translated into most of the languages of Europe. The desire awakened in the hearts of the people to know more of Christ, and more of the Scriptures untrammelled by the preacher's gloss, or the monk's paraphrase and perversion, was becoming too intense to admit of denial.

It was when the discovery of America had added to the intense excitement which pervaded Europe, and the world was all agape to

know what further wondrous events were about to dawn upon it, that God called forth the monk of Erfurth to be his champion; a man whose sonorous voice drowned the thunders of the Vatican, whose bold challenging of hoary error, powerful advocacy of the right of private judgment, and hearty sympathy with reform, fitted him pre-eminently to be a "king of men." Bold, fearless, coarse at times, perhaps, but thoroughly honest, recognizing the importance of his mission, and never flinching from the results of his positions, Luther leaped into the arena of conflict, and contended almost single-handed against the Roman pontiff, before whose terrible anathema the most powerful monarchs of Europe had quailed. They trusted in their own prowess, he in the arm of Jehovah; they contended for earthly power for their own liberation from the galling yoke of the despotic pope; he for freedom of thought, the rights of conscience, the supremacy of truth; they yielded, he conquered; and mind, released from its thralldom, rose, like the uncaged eagle, to its own lofty empyrean. From that hour humanity resumed its sway over the hearts of men; and though in the struggles that followed hundreds of thousands of brave hearts perished by the assassin's knife, or underwent death at the stake or on the gallows, yet with every year the Divine principle of love—love to our brother whom we have seen, as the most convincing evidence of our love to the God whom we have not seen—permeated more thoroughly the human heart. The two great opposing forces of Christendom, Protestantism and popery, came often into conflict, and bloody as was their strife, each learned in the contest that deeds of humanity were the most palpable proofs of the purity of their Christianity; and even where much of error remained, both in doctrine and practice, the seeds of charity still sprung up among the tares and bore fruit. The first development of this spirit of benevolence exhibited itself in efforts for the more general diffusion of knowledge. Hitherto education had been the privilege of the rich; henceforth it was to be the right of the poor; God's word, hitherto sealed up from the masses in a dead language, was henceforth to be spread before them in their own vernacular, and the humblest peasant, under his own roof-tree, was to hear of the wonderful works of Jehovah. Under the fostering care of Luther, Calvin, Zwinglius, and Melancthon, schools for the poor were established, and universities, on a scale of liberality before unknown, were opened, to which the poor scholar might resort, and where such privileges and assistance were granted as placed an education within the reach of all.

The great English schools of Westminster, Rugby, and Harrow belong to this period, as does also one of far greater interest than these

—the Christ Church Hospital School, better known as the “Blue Coat School,” which had its origin in the zeal of Bishop Ridley for the instruction of the children of the poor, and in the piety and benevolence of the boy-king, Edward VI. The success of this noble institution led George Heriot, a native of Edinburgh, though then residing in London, to leave a bequest for the foundation of a similar school in his native city; a bequest so ample, and so wisely guarded, that at this day more than three thousand of the children of that city are enjoying its advantages.

The zeal of the Protestants for education awakened a spirit of emulation on the part of the Catholics, and numerous institutions of learning were founded by the disciples of Loyola and the monastic orders, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It has been a marked characteristic of Romanism, and one suggestive of its affinities with paganism, that its operations of benevolence are always carried on by associations, and as a duty to which those performing these acts have been trained, rather than from the spontaneous desire of usefulness upon which Protestants have always relied. We shall not pause here to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of this system, but merely allude to it, as explanatory of the organizations so greatly multiplied at the period of which we are speaking, and most of which still exist.

Vincent de Paul, a man justly regarded by Catholics as one of the noblest philanthropists, whose name has added luster to their ecclesiastical annals, in addition to his other labors for the benefit of his fellow-men, labors not without some taint of bigotry, founded the order of Sisters of Charity, whose exertions in the cause of female education, and in the care of the sick, are so well known. Their success in their vocation as teachers, led to the subsequent organization of the Ursulines, Sisters of Mercy, and other religious orders, who have devoted themselves exclusively to female education. Some fifty years later, Jean Baptist de la Salle, a canon of Rheims, abandoned his chances of Church preferment to devote himself to the education of the poor. He founded, in 1681, the Institute of Brothers of the Christian Schools, an order now extending through all Catholic countries, and having the supervision of the educational interests of the Church. While we would do no injustice to the memory of such men as Vincent de Paul and De la Salle, we cannot forget that Protestantism has produced philanthropists whose charities have been as abundant, their zeal as fervent, their faith as strong, and their love for their fellow-men as ardent as any saint of the Romish calendar.

Of one of these, the gifted yet simple-hearted Franke, a few

words may not be inappropriate. Endowed with extraordinary abilities and eloquence, few men have possessed a higher reputation either in the pulpit or the professor's chair; yet he willingly abandoned both to devote himself to the education and support of the children of the poor. He was himself without property, but no man ever possessed a larger measure of faith in God; and when the little ones came to him and pleaded for instruction and sustenance, he received them and called on God for aid, with the most childlike confidence that his prayer would be heard; and it was heard; our heavenly Father never turned away such a suppliant. The means came as fast as they were needed, and between 1695 and 1709, he had established at Halle four schools for different classes of pupils, a school for teachers, a house for widows, a Bible press for furnishing the Scriptures at a cheap rate, a library for his schools, an apothecary shop for furnishing medicine to the poor, and a book establishment. The "*Hallische Waisenhaus*," as his institution is called, is the largest educational establishment in Europe; nearly four thousand children attend it daily, and tens of thousands of the German youth have received their education there. Yet the fund from which sprung this vast pile of buildings, which have disseminated throughout Europe far more of good than has issued from all its palaces, was a little more than four dollars!

During the seventeenth century, or rather, near the close of the sixteenth, the first efforts were made to instruct the deaf and dumb, by Pedro Ponce de Leon, a Benedictine monk of Barcelona, Spain. Up to this period they had been regarded and pronounced by Roman pontiffs incapable of instruction, and morally irresponsible. Ponce de Leon instructed but few pupils, but his success prompted Sibscota, Dalgarno, Wallis, and Holder, in England, during the seventeenth century, to attempt the same work. The efforts thus made were, however, isolated, and did not lead to the maintenance of any permanent schools for their instruction, or to any general result. The age was not yet fully imbued with the spirit of humanity.

The gathering of the insane into hospitals was more general during this period than at any time previous. The great English Bethlehem Hospital, from whence is derived the term *bedlam*, so often applied to hospitals for the insane, had its origin in 1547, and many of the continental hospitals date from the latter part of the sixteenth century. The treatment was not yet to be commended, for it was deemed necessary, as in the time of Sir Thomas More, on the accession of a paroxysm of excitement, to "stripe the patient till he waxed weary;" but thoughtful men were investigating the phenomena

of mental disease more carefully than ever before, and their labors were, in after times, productive of good.

This was the era of the organization of foundling hospitals; institutions which originated, undoubtedly, from the benevolent design of mitigating the evils which fell upon helpless infancy from the prevalence of licentiousness; but which many good men regard as having increased the very evils they were intended to prevent or meliorate.

It is, however, in the period which has elapsed since the commencement of the eighteenth century, that the progress of humanitarian effort has been most rapid and glorious. The principles of the Reformation had taken deep root, and like a goodly cedar, their branches expanded on every side, and their leaves, like those of the tree of life, were for the healing of the nations. The orphan school of Franke, at Halle, had reared among its pupils a Count Zinzendorf, the founder of the Moravians or *Hernhutters*, who, by a simple and godly life, a stern abnegation of self and all selfish gratifications, and an earnest practical piety, exemplified a type of Christianity more nearly apostolic than had appeared hitherto in modern times; The wilderness of the New World, where, a century before, savage beasts and still more savage men roamed at will, now bloomed like the garden of the Lord, and its devoted ministers were endeavoring to lead the rude Indian to Christ. The Moravian missionaries, in the service of their Divine Master, penetrated the wigwam of the Western savage, and the snow-hut of the *Esquimaux*; and though long years of toil passed before their hearts were gladdened by the first convert, they labored on patiently and uncomplainingly. The noble-hearted and generous *Oglethorpe*, fired with zeal by Franke's example, determined to establish, in his new colony of Georgia, an orphan-house which should rival that at Halle, and having enlisted *Whitefield* in the work, sent him across the Atlantic to aid in establishing it. The orphan-house project proved a failure; but *Whitefield's* zeal and devotion awakened in the Churches of America a fervor which is not yet extinguished.

It was at this period, also, that the Wesleys, driven from the Established Church by its apathy and deadness, organized their followers into a compact body, which, acting as the light artillery of God's sacramental host, has carried intelligence and Christianity along the frontiers of civilization.

The society of Friends, abandoning the vagaries which had led some of their earlier leaders into wild and unwarrantable excesses, both of doctrine and practice, distinguished themselves by those deeds of active yet unostentatious benevolence which have made the name of Quaker and philanthropist practically synonymous.

In the Catholic Church, the followers of Loyola, desirous of demonstrating that there was in the Catholic faith a higher philanthropy than Protestantism could boast, constantly sought out new fields of benevolence, and either occupied them themselves, or stimulated some of the monastic orders to do so. They had already, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, encircled the globe with their missions. China, India, Japan, the Coast of Mozambique, and Western Africa, from the Bight of Benin to the boundaries of Benguela, Brazil, Chili, Peru, Colombia, Central America, California, Florida, Louisiana, Illinois, and Canada, each had a corps of active, intriguing, restless priests, exerting often a favorable influence over the natives of these countries, but often, also, seeking the opportunity to control and influence their rulers, and to govern the nations they came professedly to Christianize. In the eighteenth century their sphere of missionary operations was still more enlarged, and although China and Japan had expelled their priests, and their missions in Western Africa were already tottering to decay, yet it was with a proud humility that they reported the success of their labors. "See," says one of their bishops, writing from San Salvador, in Western Africa, "Ethiopia stretch forth her hands to God!" A century has passed, and the magnificent cathedrals which lined that western coast are all in ruins; the palaces of the African bishops have crumbled to decay, and the rank vegetation of the tropical clime has made those populous streets a forest; the descendants of the once professedly Christian population of Loando still inhabit the land of their fathers, but there is not, on all the continent of Africa, a nation more hopelessly pagan than they. The imposing forms of the Catholic ritual, sustained among them by military force, were abandoned so soon as that force was withdrawn, and as their hearts had never been affected, the return to paganism was as complete as it was speedy.

Of all these missions, so numerous, and reputed so successful, hardly one now remains. In the interior of South America, among some of the simple native tribes, a padre may yet be found occupying one of the great mission farms, and occasionally instructing his docile converts as a return for their labors as herdsmen or tillers of his grounds; but elsewhere the missions are abandoned, and the converts and their descendants have lapsed into heathenism.

In other departments of humanitarian effort, the Catholic Church was not without its eminent worthies in the eighteenth century. The Abbé de l'Epee, one of the purest and noblest men in her communion, established, in 1755, the first permanent school for deaf-

mutes, and, by the introduction of the sign language, opened to them a new world of thought and intelligence.

Valentin Haüy, a man of gentle and loving spirit, organized, some thirty years later, the first school for the instruction of the blind, and amid the terrors of the French Revolution and the severe privations that followed, struggled on bravely, even depriving himself of necessary food that his children, as he called his blind pupils, might not be scattered.

Other philanthropists, in other lands, entered upon these fields of benevolent effort within a few years after these pioneers. Some, like Heinicke and Braidwood, in the instruction of deaf-mutes, adopting other methods, which subsequent experience has shown to be less successful; others, like Klein in Vienna, and Zeune in Berlin, in the instruction of the blind, following in the footsteps of Haüy, and avowing their indebtedness to him for their plans of instruction.

It is to a countryman of Haüy and De l'Épée that the merit is due of having first relieved the insane from the cruelties which they had so long suffered. In 1792 Philip Pinel, a French physician, to whom the government had assigned the charge of the Bicêtre, one of the great insane hospitals of Paris, entered the cells of that hospital and liberated from chains and confinement fifty-three of the patients, some of whom had been for thirty years in close restraint. The same year William Tuke, a member of the Society of Friends in York, England, took the preliminary measures which led to the establishment of the Retreat for the Insane near York, the first insane hospital in the world established on the principles of non-restraint.

Following, unconsciously perhaps, in the footsteps of the early Church, the Christianity of the eighteenth century assailed the gigantic evils of slavery and the atrocious slave-trade, which for two centuries had torn from the coast of Africa its hapless inhabitants by millions, and had subjected them to the fearful horrors of the middle passage. Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., of Newport, Rhode Island, was one of the earliest and most vigorous assailants of this inhuman traffic, in which the merchants of that town were largely engaged. From the time of his settlement there, in 1770, to his death, he was unsparing in his denunciations of it, and his powerful arguments led to its prohibition in this country after 1808, and to the noble and protracted struggle in the British Parliament (1785-1810) between Granville Sharpe, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Fox on the one side, and the advocates of the traffic on the other. No parliamentary conflict of modern times compares with this in

the ability of the advocates on both sides, the importance of the question discussed, or the pertinacity with which every step of progress was resisted. The right triumphed at length, as it always will when truth and error are engaged in hostile encounter; and though before the final victory was achieved, most of the original champions were numbered with the dead, yet the anti-slavery philanthropists of Great Britain did not relax their efforts till every slave in the empire was free.

To the eighteenth century, also, belongs the origination of the Sunday-school enterprise. The honor of initiating this good work is claimed for several individuals, and apparently with equal authority in each case. It can hardly be doubted that the idea of instructing poor and vagrant children on the Sabbath occurred nearly simultaneously to several individuals in different countries, and that each, in his own circle of influence, was the founder of Sabbath schools. Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, Deacon Fox, of London, the pastor Oberlin, of the Ban de la Roche, San Carlo Borromeo, of Milan, and two or three persons in this country, are among the number who established such schools without any previous knowledge that others had attempted the work. The results of this enterprise in the promotion of intelligence, the cultivation of habits of reading, and, above all, in the inculcation of religious truth, have been beyond the most sanguine hopes of its early friends. Thousands have received in the Sunday school their only instruction in reading, who have afterward become useful and intelligent citizens and active Christians, and the library, now the universal adjunct of the school, furnishes in many cases a larger amount of valuable reading than is otherwise accessible to the laboring classes.

The inauguration of the modern missionary enterprise is, however, the crowning glory of the eighteenth century. We have already adverted to the missions of the Catholic Church, and to their inefficiency as agencies for the diffusion of a pure Christianity. The Moravian missions, to which we have also alluded, were sent forth in the right spirit, and are deserving of all praise for the good they accomplished; but the brethren of Hernhut were but a handful in numbers, and their missionary enterprise, though now justly regarded as a development of Christian philanthropy far in advance of their age, was then considered a piece of spiritual Quixotism, of which no rational Christian would be guilty.

It was not until Clive, by the victory of Plassey, in 1757, had raised the East India Company's possessions in Hindoostan from a petty commercial colony to the rank of an empire, with more than fifty millions of inhabitants, that the condition of the heathen began

to excite the attention and interest of Christians in Great Britain. The existence of Thugism, the fearful massacre of victims at the Juggernaut festival, the horrors of the suttee, the universal prevalence of infanticide, and the exposure of the aged, the sick, and the dying upon the banks of the Ganges, all awakened the desire to teach these poor degraded heathen the way of salvation. At last two dissenting ministers, in whose hearts burned the love of souls, offered themselves for the work. The commercial interest, ever intensely selfish, and then, as now, too groveling in its nature to recognize the principles of humanity, which lie at the very basis of Christianity, rose at once in opposition to the movement. Scorn, contempt, and unqualified denunciation were launched against these humble disciples of Christ by men high in station in the British Parliament: "They were mere renegades from the cobbler's bench, masters of petty handicraft trades, and utterly incapable of coping with the astute and learned Brahmin; besides, the government was under obligation to protect the natives of Hindoostan in the free exercise of their religion. It would never do to interfere with that, and, if necessary, troops must be detailed to secure to them freedom from molestation in their festivals and suttees." Unawed by these denunciations, trusting in the promises of Him whose Divine commission was their only warrant, Carey and Thomas sailed for India, and though forbidden to enter the dominions of the East India Company, found a resting-place at Serampore. Sixty-four years have elapsed since that time; the story of their labors, and toils, and those of their successors, are now a part of the world's history. Of the thousands converted to Christianity through the efforts of Christian missionaries who have followed in their footsteps, we will not speak; but the philanthropist, at least, may be permitted to rejoice that, as a result of missionary effort, the Thugs have been extirpated, the immolation of victims under the wheels of Juggernaut's car prohibited, the suttee abolished, the devotees no longer permitted to torture themselves by swinging on hooks, infanticide checked, and the hideous crocodile deprived of his living prey on the banks of the Ganges; and though now Mohammedanism is making a desperate struggle to recover its lost supremacy over a portion of the peninsula, and Brahmin and Moslem make common cause against the Christianity which both hate, yet the power of caste is broken, and the dominion of the Mogul a thing of the past; the swarthy sons of Hindoostan shall yet yield to the scepter of King Immanuel, and his triumph come the sooner for this outbreak of his foes.

But it is not alone in India that the Christian missionary has planted the standard of the cross. Like the Catholic missions of

the seventeenth century, the modern missionary enterprise has encircled the globe; Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, Australia, Malaysia, and the islands of the sea are dotted with its stations; but, *unlike* those missions, it mingles not with the political affairs of the nations it seeks to benefit; affects no pomp, display, or worldly grandeur, but seeks only to bring men to Christ, and to the Christian philanthropist. There is no more convincing proof of the elevating power of a pure Christianity than the fact that, under its benign influence, the licentious and degraded cannibals of New-Zealand and the Sandwich and Society Islands, have abandoned their depraved and heathenish practices, and taken a respectable rank among the nations of Christendom; that the simple, timid Karen, and the wild and brutal Choctaw and Cherokee tribes, have adopted the habits and customs of civilized life; and that other nations are passing through the transition period of their history, and bid fair soon to take their place among the Christian nations of the world. Already the crescent begins to wane before the cross, and the lands where prophet and apostle once labored and taught, renouncing the faith of Islam, are returning to the doctrines of the Gospel. The changes thus effected are not mere changes of form, the substitution of one superstitious rite for another, rendering a relapse into barbarism inevitable so soon as the outside pressure is withdrawn. The hearts, affections, hopes, and aims of the converts are changed; and in most of the missionary fields, were every American or European missionary withdrawn at once, the native preachers and disciples would go on, more slowly indeed, but steadily, to a higher plane of civilization.

In thus referring to the results of the modern missionary enterprise, we have anticipated, in part, our review of the progress of humanitarian effort since the commencement of the present century; but enough remains to be said of its triumphs in other fields. Intellect was never quickened into such activity as now; the humane teachings of the Saviour were never so fully understood or practiced, the ties of human brotherhood so fully recognized, or the responsibility of man for the welfare of his fellow-man, so thoroughly understood. We have seen within the present century the institutions for the deaf and dumb increased from six or eight to more than two hundred, and through the influence of Sicard in France, Baker in England, and Gallaudet, Clerc, and Peet in this country, their usefulness and sphere of instruction greatly enlarged; institutions for the blind established in every country in Europe, and in more than half the states of our own Union, and the word of God so printed that they may literally "feel after him, if haply they

may find him;" the insane no longer subjected to cruelty and torture, but gathered into hospitals, where, by kind and gentle treatment, agreeable amusements, the solace of books, paintings, and music, and such employment as may withdraw the mind from its sorrows, they may be restored to reason and to society again; the poor idiot and the cretin, long believed to be irresponsible and beyond the pale of human sympathy, through the benevolent labors of Guggenbühl, Seguin, Wilbur, Howe, and others, so far improved as to be fitted to perform the ordinary duties of life, and to tread, though with faltering step, the way of holiness.

War has been deprived of much of its horrors, and its frequency diminished; the great temperance reform, though it has not yet wholly stayed the plague of intoxication, has rendered the traffic in intoxicating drinks disreputable, has rescued its thousands from the drunkard's grave, and has prevented tens of thousands more from entering upon the downward course. The death penalty has been restricted to the highest crimes; the criminal encouraged to attempt a better life; the juvenile offender and the vagrant child rescued from a career of crime, and by careful training transformed into useful and respected citizens; aged and infirm females provided with a home and its comforts; the repentant Magdalen raised from her degradation, and encouraged by a sister's kindness to "go and sin no more."

We grieve that with these triumphs of humanity, we may not also record the downfall of that monster evil, human slavery; but we rejoice to know that its doom is sealed; that in its audacity and reckless disregard of all obligations, human and Divine, may be seen the surest presage of its speedy overthrow.

This progress of philanthropy, this fulfillment of the *new* commandment of our Saviour, should inspire us with the most glowing hopes for the future. The ages to come will develop, in its highest glory, LOVE as the crowning attribute of Divinity. The lineaments of the Divine image, obliterated by the fall, shall reappear in the sons of God, redeemed by a Saviour's blood; and as Christianity shall triumph over the hoary forms of error, man shall cease to be the slave of his appetites and passions, shall better comprehend, and more fully observe the Heaven-appointed laws of his physical nature; and while his sympathies for the whole human brotherhood shall become increasingly active, the objects which now specially excite those sympathies shall constantly decrease, till all over our world, now stained with sin, and abounding in mental, moral, and physical deformity, there shall be found no hardened criminal, no reckless and degraded inebriate, no painted harlot, no beggar clothed in rags,

no deformed, blind, dumb, or crippled sufferer, no raving maniac, no helpless idiot, and no loathsome cretin basking in the sun; but health, holiness, and happiness, shall pervade the earth. For such a period let us pray and hope; its coming may be nearer than we think; eyes already opened to the light of day may see its glorious dawn; for all things portend the speedy fulfillment of the Revelator's vision, and betoken the hastening of that time when the angelic host and the glorified saints shall send up to the throne of God new anthems of praise, as, looking forth from the battlements of heaven, they behold "new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness."

ART. X.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—Lord Palmerston, than whom, as the Evangelical party believes, no man has ever appointed better bishops; than whom, as the High Churchmen say, no man has ever done more harm to the Church of England, has been succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Derby, who is supposed to sympathize with the Broad Church party. The friends of Dr. Pusey find, however, some consolation in the assurance that there is some good Church influence in the new councils, and that at all events the new Prime Minister will not do them as much harm as Palmerston. Derby has declared himself against the abolition of Church rates, which is desired by a large majority in the House of Commons; against stopping the annual support of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, unless a fixed compensation be granted to it; and for a continuance of the connection between Church and State. "This latter question," says *the Press*, a political organ over which Mr. Disraeli is supposed to have some influence, "is more and more becoming a large question of vital importance, which is no longer looming in the distance. Statesmen do not like to talk of it, or to think of it; for it is a hard and thorny question. But whether they shrink from it or not, the controversy draws nearer and nearer, and it will hardly be possible for the most cautious politicians to avert an open struggle for many years longer. This, this chiefly and solely, is the remaining battle-field between

Conservative and Liberal." *The bishops of the Established Church*, though among them well-nigh every shade of opinion in the Church is represented, are unanimously opposed to a revision of the Prayer Book, as moved in the House of Lords by Lord Ebury. This has given particular satisfaction to the High Churchmen, who, on the other hand, are greatly offended at the discussions of the upper house of the Convocation for Canterbury on daily Church services, "because the right reverend fathers of the Church discourage the observance of the clearest intentions of the Prayer Book, to say nothing of the warrant of the Holy Scripture." An attempt to carry in the same Convocation a resolution against the "violent infraction of the most solemn rights and privileges of the Church, committed by the new Divorce Act," failed. In the province of York the archbishop, as usual, refused to allow to the Convocation any opportunity of proceeding to business, *gravamina* against which procedure were signed by nearly all the members present. The three archdeacons of the Diocese of Oxford, appointed by the bishop a committee to investigate the charges of Romanizing tendencies brought against the *Cuddesdon Theological Seminary*, have negatived the principal charges, though they find "some unfortunate resemblances to the practices of the Roman Church." The long controversy on the admissibility of *Archdeacon Denison's Eucharistic Doctrines* in the Church of England, has been finally settled by a decision of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, dismissing the

appeal of Mr. Ditcher against the sentence of the Court of Arches. But, terminated in England, it breaks out again in Scotland, where the Bishop of Brechin is charged with un-Protestant views on the same subject by his colleagues of Edinburgh, Argyle, and Glasgow. *The English Methodists* report about six hundred thousand dollars missionary contributions the last year, being an advance on the preceding year. Their number of Church members has likewise increased, and they never stood in an attitude of more strength and dignity before the religious world than at this hour. At a synod of the *English Presbyterians*, held in Manchester, a motion against the use of the organ was carried by a majority of 72 against 62. *The Society of Friends* has diminished in number during the last half century, though the population of Great Britain has more than doubled itself.

The Roman Church.—According to the *Weekly Register* of London, the Roman Church has been joined during the last three months by several other clergymen of the Established Church, and by Lord Norreys, eldest son of the Earl of Abingdon. This will place another English earldom under the influence of Rome. On the first of May Cardinal Wiseman performed the solemn blessing of four ships at Deptford, the first instance of the blessing of a ship in England since the Reformation. Extraordinary occurrences are reported from the *Irish College in Paris*, an institution which prepares some seventy Irish students for the priesthood, and whose supreme direction is vested in a board of the Irish bishops, representing the entire Irish episcopate. The president, Dr. Miley, has, without charge, trial, or investigation, expelled the two other professors from the institution, and induced the French government, against the wish of the cardinal archbishop of Paris, to serve them with a peremptory order to quit France at once, or else they would be flung into prison for six months. Dr. Miley is said to be jealous of the Irish spiritual direction, and to lean on the secular government. The case will be investigated by a general meeting of the Irish prelate in June next. In the mean while, to allow the irritation to subside, a vacation has been decreed.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches.—All parties in Prussia seem to be aware that

the Prince of Prussia delays a radical change in the Church government only out of regard for his brother, the king. The resignation of Dr. Stahl, as member of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council has not yet been officially accepted, but he takes no longer any part in its transactions. He devotes his time to an elaborate work on the "Union," while his celebrated opponent, Chevalier Bunsen, has just published the first volume of his long expected translation of the Bible. Some more troubles have followed the proceedings of the *General Synods of Bavaria*; Count Giech, the most influential lay member of the Church and of the general synods, having been indicted by the government for publishing certain views which the royal commissary at the General Synod of Baireuth prevented him, by order of the government, from uttering before the Synod. It appears that the leading men in the Bavarian Church, though highly conservative in all political questions, intend to exert themselves strenuously for a greater independence of the Church. At the *University of Erlangen*, which, together with Rostock and Leipzig, is a literary stronghold of Lutheran High-Churchism, the number of theological students has risen to three hundred and twenty-five, an extraordinary increase, which indicates that the prospects of the High-Churchmen are favorable as far as the clergy are concerned. The Theological Faculty of the same university has passed the resolution that, contrary to its whole past history, and in spite of the fact that Erlangen is the only Protestant university of Bavaria, it will henceforth confer the title of D.D. only on members of the *Lutheran Church*. It has recently become known that Rev. W. Löhe, the leader of the extreme faction of the Bavarian High-Churchmen, has introduced in his congregation as long as two years ago a rite which substantially is the same as the sacrament of extreme unction in the Church of Rome. The Supreme Consistory of Munich, though generally agreeing with the views of Löhe, has been forced, by public opinion, to forbid this innovation. In the grand-duchy of Mecklenburg, where, likewise the restoration of a species of Protestant popery is attempted, a distinguished professor of the Theological Faculty of Rostock, Dr. Baumgarten, has been dismissed on account of doctrines which are at variance with some ducal decrees of 1552 and 1602, defining what is to be considered in the country of Mecklen-

burg for all time to come, as pure and unchangeable Christianity. In *the electorate of Hesse*, a friend of Dr. Vilmar, well known as one of the ablest and most Romanizing High-Churchmen of Germany, has been appointed one of the three superintendents-general of the Church; but the professors of theology at Marburg who are Low-Church, have brought a law-suit against Dr. Vilmar, who is now their colleague, for having slandered and defamed them in an anonymous pamphlet written for electioneering purposes. In *Austria* nothing is heard of the promised reorganization of the *Hungarian Church*, though nearly a year has elapsed since all the Protestant Synods expressed a desire that a General Synod be called in order to decide, as the only competent authority, on the adoption or rejection of the proposals of the government. In *Tyrol* a Protestant mining society has received, after long negotiations, the right of buying property, but the official Gazette of Vienna remarks that this concession has been only made in order to give to the poor population a better opportunity for gaining their livelihood, and that a general inference, with regard to the right of non-Catholics to buy property in Tyrol, must not be drawn from it. As a concession of greater importance, we consider a recent decree of the Ministry of Public Worship, according to which the *accounts of the Protestant Churches* will no longer be revised by the government, but only by the proper ecclesiastical board.

The Roman Church.—Notwithstanding the extraordinary favors which the Roman Church continues to receive from the government of *Austria*, she is far from being satisfied with the progress of her influence on the people. The whole Catholic population of *Austria*, amounting to over thirty millions, contributed last year no more than about sixty thousand dollars for Foreign Missions. Nearly each one of the few Catholic organs of *Austria* has been crippled by the new press laws which have gone into effect on the first of January of the present year, while the anti-Catholic press and literature enjoys, notwithstanding all the gagging, an exuberant growth. *The king of Bavaria* is again accused of appointing bishops of doubtful orthodoxy. As the Catholic press of Germany is not permitted to speak on such subjects, the grievances of the ultramontane party are made public through the columns of the *Univers* of Paris, which, ex. gr., brought recently a

thundering article against the candidate nominated by the king for the vacant see of *Regensburg*. He was accused of living on friendly terms with the family of an uncle who had turned Protestant. But though the opinion of the *Univers* is not without influence in Rome, the charge was this time not considered sufficient to withhold his ratification, and the obnoxious candidate has, at present, entered upon his episcopal duties. From *Prussia*, *Wurtemberg*, and *Baden*, it is reported that the teachers of the public schools, though they are educated at the expense of the state, and receive from the state their salaries, are becoming too docile to the instruction of the Church. In *Wurtemberg* they refuse to meet with Protestant colleagues in common teacher's conferences. In *Prussia* a Conference has excluded a member because he has a Protestant wife; and in *Baden* one teacher has declared to the superintendent of the state, that he holds himself subject to the orders of the Church, but not to those of the state. In *Wurtemberg* the *University of Tubingen* has excluded the Faculty of Catholic Theology, because, by the new concordat, it is wholly placed under the superintendence of the bishop; the government, however, has annulled this resolution. In the *Duchy of Nassau*, of whose population (432,039 in 1856) nearly one half is Catholic, the ultramontane party has obtained an unusual success, its candidates for both branches of the Legislature being elected in all the purely Catholic and in most of the mixed districts.

SWITZERLAND.

The Protestant Churches.—The Federal Government continues to order the marching of troops on Sundays. After the example of the Protestant Synod of *Berne*, the Catholic cantons of *Fribourg* and *Unterwalden* have protested against it, though likewise without result. The *Conference of Reformed Church Governments*, for effecting a closer connection between the hitherto independent Churches of the various cantons, was to meet in *Zurich* toward the close of April. The same subject will be discussed by the next General Assembly of the Reformed Swiss clergy at *Aarau*. A circular of the committee points to the importance of this question, at a time when the Roman Church is successful also in Switzerland in re-establishing among its members a compacter unity. In *Zurich* Dr. Volek-

mar, who, in a work destined for the people, has repeated the views of Dr. Strauss and his friends on the New Testament, has been appointed, by the Grand Council, Extraordinary Professor in the Theological Faculty. The majority of the Church Council of Zurich have declared themselves opposed to the promotion of Dr. Volckmar, on account of the "bold hypotheses" contained in his book; but as Volckmar has had the right of lecturing before, and as it is only a title, without salary, which it is intended to confer on him, the Church Council has unanimously agreed to desist from further opposition for the present. The Church papers of the Reformed Church complain of the activity of the independent Churches, as the Methodists, Irvingites, and others, and in several places their meetings had been forbidden.

The Roman Church.—The Bishop of St. Gall has addressed a memorial to the Grand Council of the canton, in which he demands that a law of 1855, establishing a common cantonal school for Catholics and Protestants be repealed, as inconsistent with the rights of the Catholic Church. As nearly one half of the members of the Grand Council are ultramontanes, the demand has been rejected only by a majority of a few votes. At the discussion of this question a great majority of the Swiss papers, and all the organs of the Protestant State Churches, pleaded the necessity of reserving to the state a right of vetoing the publication of ecclesiastical decrees. The *Grand Council of Fribourg*, in which the opposition to the ultramontane majority is reduced to four votes, has resolved to restore to the Jesuits and Redemptorists that portion of their confiscated property which has not yet been sold, and to indemnify them for the rest. The government of Argovia pretends to compel all the priests of the canton, under a penalty of fifty francs, to publish, in their churches, the bans of all mixed marriages, in spite of the prohibition of the bishop; and it is characteristic of European views of Church and state, that the Protestant press finds such a decree entirely proper, though nothing hinders the parties concerned from being married by a Protestant clergyman.

SCANDINAVIA.

Protestantism.—After the rejection of the *Religious Liberty Bill* by the Swedish Diet, the Law Committee of the Diet

has drafted another bill, which, while depriving the seceders from the State Church of all civil rights, proposes, as the only change in the actual legislation, the abolition of the penalty of exile for secession from the Lutheran State Church. Even this proposition has been rejected by the nobility and the priesthood, but the general expectation in Sweden is, that the opponents of religious toleration will be beaten in the next Diet. Notwithstanding the continuance of persecution, the *Baptists* make extraordinary progress. In one place, comprising one hundred and thirty families, three fourths of the people have joined them; and in another their number has increased from one hundred and fifty communicants to four hundred.

The Roman Church.—"Our last news from the Northern Missions," says the *Univers*, "is very good. One year since a missionary took up his abode in Iceland. The population of this island has great sympathies for the Catholic priests. The Literary Society of Iceland, of which the King of Denmark is the president, has given a significant proof of it by unanimously electing the apostolic prefect of the Northern Missions, Rev. Stephen Djunkowski, a member. In October two missionaries were stationed at the Faroe Isles, and more recently two others have been sent to Greenland."

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—The harmony between Church and state has remained undisturbed. The Church gladly receives from the highest officers of the empire the assurance that they, as well as the emperor, value the services of the Church, though it is often intimated that their regard for the Church is entirely dependent on the command of the emperor. This disposition of leading statesmen has been strikingly illustrated by Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers, one of the five generals among whom Louis Napoleon has distributed the military command of France. The Archbishop of Tours and his clergy, having received him at his entrance in Tours with the greatest possible pomp of ecclesiastical ceremonies, and having expressed their joy that the emperor had conferred this eminent mark of confidence on the restorer of the papal authority in Rome, the marshal accepted the compliment, and declared himself to be of those who

believe the cause of order to be inseparably connected with the cause of religion; but added significantly that, in fulfilling his mission, he would know only one call, Long live the emperor; that he would permit only this one call, and that he would be unable to serve two masters at a time. All papers agree, that during Lent the attendance at the Catholic churches throughout France has been considerably larger than any preceding year. The *Journal des Débats* conclusively shows that, in a thousand cases, it is nothing but a fashion that brings men back to the mass, to relics, and indulgences, though it ought not to be denied that this fashion would never have sprung up if it had not been preceded by the real restoration of Romish convictions in a large number of Frenchmen. By the death of *Father Ravignan*, the Roman Church has lost one of her leaders, who, by rare oratorical gifts, joined with undisputed sincerity of conviction, purity of life, and the finest aristocratic manners, has contributed, probably, more than any other priest now living to this remarkable reaction which is still going on. As one of the fruits of this reaction we may consider the increased number of miracles which are again reported as occurring in France, and which in strangeness not rarely equal the tales of the Middle Ages. The belief in the miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary at La Salette has scarcely begun to be shaken among the followers of Rome, when the bare assertion of a young visionary girl, said to be cataleptic, that the Holy Virgin has appeared to her, suffices to draw crowds of five thousand and more pilgrims to the spot of the pretended miracle.

The Protestant Churches.—At Ruffec a number of Protestants had again been fined and imprisoned for having held religious meetings without previous authorization. All of them had suffered in the same way in 1853, and in view of "this incorrigible obstinacy," the government demanded and obtained from the court a severer punishment. During the last year twelve new Protestant churches have been opened in France, ten of which belong to the National and two to the Independent Churches. According to the *Bulletin du Monde Chrétien*, the number of new Protestant churches built during the last twelve years amounts to over one hundred. Protestantism, while persecuted by the government and the Roman Church, often receives marks of re-

gard from the intelligent classes of the French people. The Town Council of Brest has contributed twenty thousand francs for the erection of a new Protestant church. By the death of the *Rev. C. Cook*, the Wesleyan Conference of France has lost its president, and French Protestantism at large one of its most active and most respected apostles.

ITALY.

The Roman Church.—The government of *Sardinia* has been enabled, by a favorable decision of the Court of Cassation, to pursue with greater eagerness than before the suppression of all the convents which heretofore had frequently succeeded, with the assistance of the Provincial Courts, in evading the provisions of the law. In *Rome* a new jubilee has been celebrated, with numerous indulgences for all its participants, but even the reports of the Catholic papers seem to admit that it has never before been a more signal failure. On the other hand the translation of the Bible by *Diodati* has been found in many families, and the parish priests of the city have been directed by the government to search for it more carefully, and to confiscate all the copies they find. In *Tuscany* a society of liberal members of the nobility and of literary men has been formed, to counteract the endeavors of the ultramontane party for the conclusion of a new concordat. They intended to publish, under the title *Biblioteca civile*, a series of works on the tendencies of the ultramontane party. Of the first volume, "An Apology for the ecclesiastical laws promulgated under *Leopold I.*," no less than fifteen hundred copies were sold in the first two weeks. The government, however, has suppressed the undertaking, and commenced a suit against the directors. But for the sake of peace, it has also forbidden the circulation of the *Armonia*, the clerical paper of *Sardinia*.

Protestantism.—In *Courvoyeur*, in *Sardinia*, where about a year ago a new Protestant congregation was formed, consisting entirely of former members of the Roman Church, the Protestant minister has been served, at the instigation of the priests, with an order of the court to quit preaching; but it is confidently hoped that the government will protect the cause of religious liberty. In *Tuscany* the rigor of the government against Protestants is said to have a little abated.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—Here, as well as in Constantinople and Athens, the efforts of Rome to call forth a movement in favor of a corporate union of the Greek Church with the Roman Catholic, attract some attention. In Petersburg, a work has been recently published by Wostokoff, "On the Relation of the Roman Church to other Christian Denominations, and to the Human Race," and in Athens a "Review of the Works of the Jesuit Gagarin on a Union," (*Ἐπίκρισις τῶν περὶ ἐνώσεως λόγων τοῦ Ἰησοῦντος Γάγαριν.*)

Protestantism.—According to an article on Russian Protestantism in the *Christian Advocate and Journal* of May 13, to which we refer our readers for more ample information, the *Russian Bible Society*, which, under Nicholas, was suppressed, is again in very active and successful operation. Emperor Alexander II. himself, after a first donation of twenty-five thousand rubles, has subscribed a yearly contribution of ten thousand rubles. Since its re-establishment the Bible Society has distributed more than a million copies of the Scriptures in twenty different dialects. In 1856 it had sold sixteen thousand copies in thirteen dialects. The *Theological Faculty of the University of Dorpat*, which holds nearly the same High-Church views as the Lutheran Faculties of Erlangen, Leipsic, and Rostock, in Germany, has announced that it will soon commence the publication of a journal devoted to theological science. The leading Protestant periodical of Russia, edited by Dr. Berkholtz of Riga, calls the attention of the Lutheran Church, the most numerous Protestant denomination in Russia, to the great spiritual wants of the *Protestants of East Siberia*, where, upon a territory as large as the United States, only one Protestant clergyman and two Protestant churches are found.

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism.—*The insurrection of the Christian tribes in European Turkey* has been partly quelled through the interference of the foreign ambassadors and consuls, by granting the demands of the Christians, who have received from the grand powers of Europe new promises of patronage, and from the Turks promises of a fair dispensation of justice. Among the Turks the cause of religious toleration

continues to make hopeful progress. Recent examples of converted Mussulmans seem to indicate that the penalty of death for leaving the Islam has been altogether abandoned, and from Marash it is reported that the pasha of that city called on the missionaries in a very friendly manner; a thing, perhaps, never done before in all Turkey. The authority of Mohammed is shaken not only by the preaching of the Christian missionaries, but also by the springing up of new sects among the Mussulmans. *La Presse d'Orient*, the French paper of Constantinople, mentions a new sect established by a dervish who blasphemed the Koran, and pretended to be a new prophet. He had already collected from ten to twelve thousand adherents, and ruled the district by terror, when the beys of the district rose against him, captured him, and delivered him up to the pasha.

The Oriental Churches.—*Russian influence* is again growing in the East. Official papers of the Russian Government declare it a mission of Russia to restore to the Greek Church of Turkey her former splendor and power. In many places the Greek clergy receive large subsidies from Russia, and in Jerusalem a Russian archbishop has taken up his permanent abode, in order to superintend various religious institutions, and to tighten the bonds between the Russian and Turkish branches of the Church. Such endeavors are not made in vain, for in Bucharest, Damascus, and several other places, religious festivals have been used by the Greek clergy and people to make grand demonstrations of their attachment to Russia. The intelligence received at Constantinople of the formation of several new societies for effecting a union between Rome and the Greek Church, has produced an extraordinary excitement. *The Patriarch* has issued a decree, forbidding all members of the Greek Church to send their children to schools which have non-Greek teachers. Also the appointment of any teacher not belonging to the Greek Church at a Greek school is forbidden, and those now employed shall be dismissed. A second decree will be issued concerning those who study in foreign countries, especially at one of the Occidental universities. The patriarch, very sensitive of the attacks which many of his decrees have called forth on the part of the press, has obtained from the government a firman forbidding the press to criticise the decrees of the patriarch.

The Roman Church.—According to *La Presse d'Orient*, the Armenian bishop of Aleppo has joined the Church of Rome, and has therefore been banished by an order of the Turkish Government. There were in Jerusalem, during the holy week, about two hundred Roman Catholic pilgrims from Europe and America, including one caravan from France, and one from Austria. This number, larger than that of former years, is said by the *Univers* to have produced an excellent and edifying effect among the schismatics, though it is entirely insignificant if compared with the masses of pilgrims from the Oriental Churches, whose number amounted this year to fifteen thousand.

Protestantism.—New encouraging prospects for Protestantism open among the Kuzzelbach Koords, a tribe of mountaineers which, nominally at least, has been heretofore Mohammedan. A missionary, who is himself a converted Musliman, has been laboring among them for some time, and there are many indi-

cations of an approaching rich harvest. In Bulgaria the prospects are likewise so inviting, that the American Board also will occupy four places. In a brief recapitulation of the work of the American Missions in Turkey, (*Missionary Herald*, May, p. 147,) Mr. Dwight states that more than one hundred and twenty different books and tracts have been translated and printed; among them the Holy Scriptures in the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish languages; that more than thirty evangelical Churches have been formed; besides which there are a large number of places in which Protestants are found, who meet together for worship every Sabbath, though no church has been organized; that the number of Protestants is constantly increasing, though much more slowly than would be the case if the missionaries had the means of employing a larger native agency. It is, therefore, with the deepest pain of heart that the missionaries have recently seen themselves compelled to dismiss several native laborers from want of funds.

ART. XI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

- I. THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL, April, 1858.—1. The Inspiration of the Scriptures; Objections to it Refuted: 2. Notes on Scripture; Acts, ch. ii and iii: 3. The Glorified and Unglorified Race during the Millennium: 4. Mr. Hudson's Doctrine of a Future Life: 5. God the Supreme Disposer and Moral Governor: 6. Dr. Livingstone's Travels in Africa: 7. A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, ch. xliii: 8. Dr. Barclay's City of the Great King: 9. Literary and Critical Notices.
- II. UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY AND GENERAL REVIEW, April, 1858.—8. An Historical Sketch of the Anglican Church: 9. Miracles: 10. The Intolerance of the Puritan Church of New-England: 11. Life: 12. Universalism and the Development of Character: 13. Literary Notices.
- III. THE CHURCH REVIEW, April, 1858.—1. Mr. Dickinson's Letter: 2. Thomas Crawford: 3. Proposed Liturgy of the German Reformed Church: 4. Parton's Life of Aaron Burr: 5. The Bishop of Tennessee and Church Parties: 6. Dr. Pusey on the Election of Bishops: 7. American Ecclesiastical History: 8. Book Notices: 9. Ecclesiastical Register.
- IV. THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST REVIEW, January—March, 1858.—1. A Review of Dr. W. B. Johnson's Article on "Unbaptized Evangelists:" 2. Christianity susceptible of Legal Proof: 3. "Avenging the Elect"—(Matt. a Series of Expositions): 4. How far are Baptists at Liberty to affiliate with Unbaptized Professors of Religion? 5. The Sabbath: 6. "Practical Value of the Bible:

7. On the Communion of Saints: 8. A New and Valuable Series of Historical Papers: 9. "Doulos"—(A Bond Slave or a Hired Servant): 10. Book Notices: 11. Literary Intelligence.

V. THE FREE-WILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, April, 1858.—1. Demoniacs: 2. Modern Astronomy—Dudley Leavitt, the late New England Almanac Maker: 3. Morality and Religion: 4. Exposition of Romans VII.: 5. Relation of the Natural Virtues to the Christian Spirit: 6. Thought: 7. Free Communion: 8. Contemporary Literature.

VI. THE MEBBERSBURGH REVIEW, April, 1858.—1. Thoughts on the Church: 2. The New Liturgy: 3. The Calendar, Civil and Ecclesiastical: 4. The Principle of Ecclesiastical Unity: 5. Origin and Progress of Buddhism: 6. Butler's Ancient Philosophy: 7. Recent Publications.

THIS is truly the most "Churchly" specimen of a Review that we have ever seen. Four of its six articles are expended upon ecclesiastical topics. There is, indeed, much more of Church than of religion. It says so much about the body that it almost ignores the soul. To create a heavenly Church, in its highest sense, by the redemption, is, to be sure, the sum total of Christ's work, and the subject-matter of all religion. But when a refined and "thoughtful mind" goes to brooding and subtilizing over churchly theories, and spends his dreamy days in drawing out a closet *ideal* of an *ecclesia*, we fear he is—*operose nihil agendo*—growing elaborately useless. It would benefit his mental and spiritual health, perhaps his physical, to go out into the open field and commence the real *work* of converting souls to repentance and faith, with some Peter Cartwright for presiding elder.

VII. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, April, 1858.—1. English Translations of the Bible: 2. Sacred Chronology: 3. Geological and Theological Analogies: 4. Essay on Inspiration: 5. The Grounds of Knowledge: 6. Wisdom as a Person in the Book of Proverbs: 7. The Future State: 8. The Science of Etymology: 9. Topography of Jerusalem: 10. Notices of New Publications: 11. Theological and Literary Intelligence.

THE eighth article is the third of a series on Etymology, preparatory, we are happy to learn, to a volume soon to be published from the same hand, in that fascinating but yet very unfinished branch of investigation. Mr. Dwight writes, perhaps, a little too rhetorically; but with genuine enthusiasm, and undoubted fundamental erudition. He has gone to the rich fountain-heads, under the guidance of his German masters, especially the three greatest of them all, Grimm, Bopp, and Pott.

The most superficial scholars among us have, by this time, begun to understand that under the light of Comparative Philology, that is, a patient and scientific comparison of the various languages of the earth, Etymology is ceasing to be a mass of laughable whims, and is becoming as truly a precise and positive science as Geology or Chemistry. The revolution from the new to the old is, however, still in mid progress. The science is ascertained; its methods are satisfactorily programmed; but it still needs to be fully possessed, harmoniously arranged, and universally distributed to its various applications.

All the languages of Europe are a family of sisters who never knew their own mutual relationship, until the recovery of their lost mother in Asia, the venerable and wondrous Sanscrit. Be it known, then, to all to whom these

presents shall come, and who did not know it before, we speak (with due degeneracy) the Sanscrit language. Now it was Grimm who discovered the fact that the changes by which one dialect varies into another are not disorderly and capricious, but uniform, and capable of being stated under the formula of rules or law. By this means changes are verified, and certainties are attained. The relative position of languages to each other is decided, and their priorities in time are measured.

As Rome is central in History, so Latin is central in Philology. That noble language (inferior to the Greek, we persist in affirming, Mr. Dwight) is the stand-point from which the Etymologist surveys the vast land of promise. Hence the new vistas opened to the scholar's eye, so far from diminishing his classical enthusiasm, confer new value upon the ancient treasures of classical genius.

Under the guidance of genuine Etymology, Lexicography is to receive new illustration. Webster, in our own language, however excellent in his analysis of the meaning of our words in their present living use, lived too early for a genuine Etymology. The changes made by a late hand in his dictionary are still unsatisfactory; nor can there be any true improvement without a complete renovation in this department of that work.

VIII. THE NEW-ENGLANDER, May, 1858.—1. Spiritualism Tested by Science: 2. The Two Powers of the Pope: 3. Aaron Burr: 4. Currency, Banking, and Credit: 5. Barth and Livingstone on Central Africa: 6. Dr. Taylor and his System: 7. Bishop Colenso and Rev. Lewis Grout on Polygamy: 8. Professor Fisher's Historical Discourse—The Church of Christ in Yale College.

THE article on "DR. TAYLOR AND HIS SYSTEM" was written by Rev. Dr. Thompson; and from the recent decease of the eminent and excellent man it commemorates, it will attract the attention of readers. It enters but slightly into the details of Dr. Taylor's theology, inasmuch as his works are soon to be given to the public. The picture it draws of the man is pleasing, and, as a tribute from a loving pupil, is appropriate and graceful.

"We must go back more than twenty years, and look upon him in his manly vigor, as with an eye that riveted whomsoever it glanced upon, and a voice that reverberated like a deep-toned bell, and an earnestness that glowed through every feature and fiber of the man, he first stirred our mind with the overwhelming argument and pathos of his sermons, or lifted us up into mid-heaven by the magnificent sweep and attraction of his lectures. An older pupil of his, at our side, insists that to know Dr. Taylor as he was, we should be able to go back forty years, and listen to him as he came fresh from the pulpit of the Center Church to the chair of Theology in Yale College; that only his *first* class can fully appreciate his vigor of thought, his reach of intellect, and his power of inspiring others to tread with him the sublimest mysteries of Divine truth. And one of his latest pupils insists that no one of all his thirty-six classes could ever have known him so fresh, so intimate, so earnest, so clear, so thorough, so profound, as did that little circle who gathered in his parlor to read together his lectures, and then listen to his exposition. There could be no higher tribute to the intellectual and moral greatness of the teacher, than these rival claims of pupils, nearly forty years apart, each to have known him best, and to have loved him most. No bust or picture can ever compare with the likeness cherished in these living hearts." Pp. 374, 375.

"Although he had not cultivated the mere graces of oratory, the beauty and dignity of his person, and the richness and power of his voice, required few of the accessories of art in public speaking. Jet black hair set back from the fore-

head and curling about the neck, an eye so dark that its flashes were like lightning from a cloud, and yet soft as summer showers, a brow suggestive of capacity and of thought, lips that seemed to catch their expression from the truths he uttered, tones that rolled like the bass of an organ or quivered like the notes of a lute, with the depth and variety of thought and emotion, a countenance so open that one could read in it all the sincerity, the earnestness, and the affectionateness of the speaker's soul—these were the natural and fit accessories of one who personified, as nearly as any man of our time, the union of strength and of tenderness in the Gospel." P. 376.

"The effect of such sermons, especially of sermons upon the doctrines of depravity, regeneration, and the sovereignty of God, was to arouse many to thoughtfulness, and some to opposition. In after years Dr. Taylor loved to tell of having 'preached men out of the meeting-house.' One Monday morning a knot of gentlemen gathered in a drug-store, called in the doctor, who was passing, to tell him that 'they were getting plasters to cure the sores of sermon-burns he had given them the day before.' Great revivals attested the power of such preaching to convince and persuade; revivals in which many of the most intelligent, moral, and influential persons in the community were hopefully converted to Christ. The quiet and solemnity of these seasons of revival showed that the work, while extensive and powerful, was one of intelligent conviction, and not a mere emotional excitement. Such scenes disciplined the mind and heart of the preacher in that system of evangelical doctrine whose fruits were so abundant and so precious. It was from that discipline, superinduced upon his native logical habit, his apt training in metaphysics and theology, and his severely philosophical method of sermonizing, that Dr. Taylor, at the age of thirty-six, came to the new chair of Didactic Theology in Yale College. He never lost the impulse of those ten years of pastoral labor. He kept alive his interest in preaching by supplying vacant pulpits in and around New-Haven; and he shaped his lectures and his whole system, in his own thoughts and in the thoughts of his students, for the one grand end of converting sinners to Christ." Pp. 377, 378.

These are parts of a genial portraiture. But when Dr. Thompson compares one of the theological discoveries of Dr. T. with the detection of the law of gravitation, and claims for it that "hereafter the students of mental science will acknowledge him as the Newton of this science," we think the enthusiasm of a reverent pupil must be a large apology for so glaring a hyperbole. This Newtonian discovery in Theology Dr. Thompson calls "the certainty of action with power to the contrary." We suppose it may be stated as the doctrine, that *the will does always choose for the highest motive, though it always possesses the power of choosing otherwise.* It is the third of the theories of will specified in our notice of Isaac Taylor's "World of Mind" in our last number. It is simply Hume and Brown's theory of "invariable succession" applied to the will. The *power-otherwise* is purely a verbiage. The *invariable sequency of highest motive and volition* possesses the validity of an absolute law, capable of universal statement; and so annihilates all *diverse power* as a basis of responsibility. While Dr. Taylor's theory is obliged to cancel the most graveling of Edwards's arguments in favor of *invariable succession*, alias *necessity*, he gains no compensation by presenting—his real object—a more satisfactory theory of responsibility. Dr. Taylor's terse reply to the statement, "They can if they will," namely, "Yes, and they can, too, if they won't," is good Arminianism.

Dr. Taylor's view of the natural ability of men to repent independently of Divine aid, together with the assertion, however verbal, of the *alternative power* of will, when brought into practical use in dealing with sinners by other hands, has produced, and still does produce, some most melancholy results. Conversion

is made a very slight matter. It costs no more effort than the signing of your name or the toss of a coin. Choose, and it is done; and the mere conscious recognition of the fact that you have chosen, is the decisive evidence that you are converted, and are a Christian. Christians so made, and so authenticated, are very easily unmade, and the sooner they are so the better.

But a truce with strictures. Peaceful is the end, and blessed is the memory of the just. We await with interest the publication of Dr. Taylor's works, and cheerfully accord that Yale may long and reverently cherish the treasure of his fame.

IX. THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, April, 1858.—1. The Relation of Baptized Children to the Church: 2. Review of Cummings's Theory Respecting the Conversion of the World: 3. The Trinity of the Godhead the Doctrine of the Scriptures: 4. The Burden of Egypt: 5. Review of Reports to the Legislature of South Carolina on the Revival of the Slave-Trade: 6. Correspondence—A Standard Edition of the English Bible: 7. Critical Notices.

THE *Southern Presbyterian Review* is a periodical of marked ability. It has few superiors in theological scholarship, in eloquent style of language, or in graceful dignity of tone. The isolated position of South Carolina mind, and distant denominational differences, have secluded the names of men like Dr. Thornwell and Dr. Thomas Smyth from much of our notice.

The article which would most readily attract the attention of our readers into whose hands this Review might come, is that upon the *Revival of the Slave-Trade*, from the pen of Rev. Dr. John B. Adger. He writes in a composed and graceful style, like a conscious master of the ground, who feels secure of his audience. We have somehow an inkling that General Taylor, in his celebrated phrase, "all the world and the—rest of mankind," by some unconscious instinct of powerful common sense, superadded the last apparently superfluous phrase in order to take in South Carolina. South Carolina is so unique and specific in her entirety and subordinate quiddities; she has so peculiar a set of instincts, axioms, moralities, chivalries, and logics of her own, that when you have brought "all the world" into the category, it still remains to say what you will do with South Carolina. Dr. Adger, indeed, expressly assumes that Carolina is in "a mighty conflict with the civilized world," and is anxious that such may be her primal assumptions, and her logical and ethical methods, as that what will prove and stand good nowhere else in the wide world, shall stand in South Carolina.

On the subject of slavery he recognizes that, through all ranks and sections, his state is a unit, and that such unity is a "source of strength." The Southern mind does not "indeed hold that slavery is absolutely and universally the best form of society; or that it should be universally extended, as if society were condemnable without it; but it is best for Carolina. It exists; it is liked by both master and slave; it constitutes "the happiest society in the world." So framed is the negro's whole nature to his place, that in it he is happiest; and of all men the negro's truest friend is not the rough Northman, but the soft slaveholder. All this is said with a classic placidity of style, never momentarily disturbed, save when thought of the monster abolitionist awakens a passing spasm. It is the first of all first truths with Dr. Adger and South Car-

olina, that the disapprovers of slavery are "enemies," "fanatics," and every other naughty thing which dignity of style will permit a scholarly gentleman like himself to apply to anything. There are thousands, he thinks, of Northern anti-slavery men, who, by a visit to South Carolina, could in three days be convinced, either by the adoption of South Carolina logic and ethics, we suppose, or by seeing South Carolina as she is, to become good pro-slavery men.

All this seems to us very effeminate. To talk of human ownership and the human auction-block being a good institution anywhere, even though the talker be Dr. Adger, is a crime and an infamy. For the South to prattle of the happiness of the slave at home, while demanding the enactment of stringent fugitive slave laws to keep him home, as well as their most ruthless execution, at a large expense to the general government, appears, out of South Carolina, a most palpable contradiction. Dr. Adger's assertion that the slaveholder is the truest friend of the slave, because the manhood of the latter is completely eradicated from his nature by inwrought subjection, is itself an unmanliness. The assumption that the Northern friends of freedom, and their brethren the world over, are "fanatics," "enemies," and madmen, is, in substance, the assumption made by despots, their apologists and conscience-keepers, in all lands and all ages. And we can assure Dr. Adger, that to such characters, and to the apologies, sophisms, and subserviencies, the "judgment of history" of which he speaks is not very favorable. Freedom, not slavery, holds the pen of history. And upon all special pleaders for slavery, dear Dr. Adger, "the judgment of history," and the judgment of God are that they are practically if not intentionally the enemies of human nature.

We are not the enemy of the South. We are far truer friends to the South than Dr. Adger and his masters, whose cruelty is darkening the South with crime, cursing it with poverty, and blasting it with barrenness. The puerile statement that sensible men of the North need only to come to South Carolina to be convinced that slavery there is right, is refuted by facts patent to all the world. We do not need to go to Spain to know how miserable the Inquisition has made her. We need not go to Utah to be sure that Mormondom is no paradise. We need not go to Constantinople to learn that the Turk is fanatically Mohammedan. No more need we go to South Carolina to learn that her auction-blocks, her black seamen imprisonments, her summary Lynch law, her abrogated marriage contract, her "mighty conflict with the whole civilized world," her Calhouns, Wade Hamptons, Preston Brookses, and Keitts are all very undesirable institutions.

We have thus far contemplated Dr. Adger in the fearful character which melancholy circumstances have assigned him, namely, as an *apologist for slavery*. We hasten now to present him in a more favorable office, to which the elements of his nature evidently prompt him, namely, as the defender of humanity, and the opponent of the reopening of the slave-trade. The reopening of the slave-trade is, as our readers are aware, becoming a topic with Southern politicians. Our strong impression is, that it is destined to take its place in the programme of principles of the great pro-slavery party which has for years ruled our country. Those who are ready to style this impression *visionary*, must not forget how many of the ultra *visions* of pro-slaveryism have,

at the beck of the slave power controlling our national administration, become *realities*. Such an extravagant *vision* once was Texas annexation. A re-enforced fugitive slave law was once a *vision*. The "constitution carrying slavery with it" was a *vision* until it became a plank of the Cincinnati platform. The Dred Scott Decision and the Lecompton Constitution are *realities* wilder than any vision extant, outside the brains that produced them. The omens now are that the Northern sustainers of slavery will have a new burden to carry, weighty enough to break an iron spine. So merciless a master is the slave power to its Northern allies. It dashes friends and friendships from its side by its ruthless demands for subservient support beyond all power of servility. It packs on the weights without stint, exacts endurance without flinch, and sees its friends struck down in its service without a relaxation, a thank-you, or a tear. Let the Northern underwriters for the oligarchy know that expensive and crushing is the bill they will be called upon to foot. They are to be victimized, not by the friends of freedom, but by the remorseless wheel of the Juggernaut they worship. Meanwhile let the faith of the friends of freedom be firm, and their action bold. Slavedom is mad with the madness of destruction. What her opponents could not do, she is doing for herself. And her madness, like the wickedness of the Amorites, is nearly full. Our unwilling country has striven, with desperation, not to see the despotic purposes of the dark power; she can be blind no longer. She will arise in her might; she will assert her ancient self; she will assign to slavery the bounds it cannot pass, destroy its supremacy, and reduce its advocates to insignificance and silence.

The article of Dr. Adger is founded upon the proceedings of the governor and Legislature of that state. His excellency in his message recommended the reopening of the slave-trade. Two reports by a committee, favorable and adverse severally, were presented to the Legislature. The article takes grounds against the governor and the affirmative report.

The affirmative argument is a very simple one. For want of a sufficiency of negro slaves, vast areas of Southern land are left uncultivated. Southern cotton is not cheap enough to destroy all competition in the market of the world; Southern slaves are not numerous enough to fill our territories and exclude free labor from future states. *Give us negroes enough and we can fill our states with population, command the cotton market of the world, cover the virgin continent with slave states, and RULE THE WHOLE WITH ABSOLUTE SWAY.* Such is the programme. Such is the platform on which Southern pro-slavery men and Northern submissionists are called to stand. We rejoice to see it brought to an unequivocal and unconcealable issue. Let it be nobly faced; and let us see who here at the North will still bow the craven knee.

The reply to the programme might be also very briefly stated. The whole scheme is simply a *process of gigantic Africanization of the Southern states, and as far as possible of the entire continent*. It proposes, therefore, as a whole, one of the most barbarizing inundations recorded in history. Short of this result it would be the parent of an Iliad of evils, but fail of its intentional aims.

Elegantly, but somewhat feebly, Dr. Adger argues this view somewhat in detail. It is plain that the moral and scholarly opposition of men like him will

be as inefficient as the opposition of the mass of moral and scholarly mind of the North has long been against the reckless power of politicians, commercialists, and foreign immigrants. We present a few extracts.

The following extract touches the ethics of kidnapping and the middle passage, in a spirit of Christian humanity:

"This leads us to remark that by far the greatest fault we have to find with the Report applies to its general *tone* in regard to the moral and religious aspects of the question. Not only does it make light of all objections to the slave-trade on such grounds as its inhumanity and injustice, speaking of the cruel wars of the interior, and the forced separation of the captives from children or parents as 'supposed evils,' (p. 41,) but it broadly asserts that 'it is now conceded throughout the Southern states that the slave-trade does not violate the principles either of humanity or justice.' (P. 39.) It also affirms that 'no element of morals or religion enters into the question whether South Carolina needs a further importation of slaves from Africa. It stands recorded in our statutes, that we have no scruples of this sort. And the undivided opinion of South Carolina is, that the importation of negroes from Africa, and their being made to cultivate our soil under the equitable laws which control and protect our commonwealth, would violate no law of God, nor any principle of justice.' (P. 20.) We regret, exceedingly, that the majority should have been led, in the earnestness of argument, and in their patriotic zeal, to make such strong statements. That they are far too strong is sufficiently manifest in the history of these very Reports. Their being laid on the table, without discussion, and ordered to be printed together for distribution, shows that there was *something* in them, respecting which the opinion of South Carolina was not undivided. One part certainly of that 'something' is this very point of the immorality of the slave-trade. Our people do, undoubtedly, make the distinction which Governor Adams and the majority repudiate, between slavery and the slave-trade. As respects even the *former*, public sentiment among us is better than some of our laws, and makes some of these laws a *dead letter*, because they were suitable only to the barbarous character of our slave population at the time they were made. But as respects the *latter*, public sentiment among us regards certain features, which appear to be inseparable from it, with horror. Those 'wars, to which the trade undoubtedly gives rise in Africa,' and also those 'involuntary separations of the negro from his relatives,' are not estimated as mere 'supposed' evils. Those 'involuntary separations,' when they occur among our slaves here, our community does not regard with anything like indifference. There is not one member of this majority, we are sure, who so regards them; or who would, for any reason short of imperious necessity or else flagrant crime, consent to such a separation among his own slaves! And though we all know that our slavery has made the negro, in respect to his social feelings, a very far superior being to what the negro is in Africa, still we all know, and we all feel, that there, also, he is a man, and that though a very degraded savage, the mother, at least, loves her child!" Pp. 113, 114.

The following extract queries whether the slave-trade will cheapen cotton:

"The Report admits that the reopening of this trade would cheapen laborers, but denies that this is the same thing as to cheapen labor, and so cheapen cotton. The increase of labor would not be proportionate to the increase of laborers, because of the manifest inferiority of what would be imported. Not only the specified number, deemed necessary to be added to our laborers, must be imported, but an additional number to give the additional amount of labor demanded. Add to this a still further additional number to compensate for the deterioration in character and efficiency, on the part of our own educated and civilized negroes, to be certainly produced by the introduction among them of many thousands of idle, slovenly, insubordinate barbarians. The net profits of this deteriorated slave labor would therefore be less than of slave labor as at present among us; for a plantation of slaves would eat, drink, and wear as much after as before the revival of the slave-trade, and the cost of medical advice would be as great as ever. The actual running expense, then, of growing a certain amount of

cotton would be greater, and the net profits (which are all that benefit a people who produce to export) would be two degrees less. Thus, the reopening of the slave-trade would not cheapen cotton. But it would reduce the value of our slaves, according to the plain and fundamental doctrine of political economy, that when a certain quantity of any article is in the market, the natural effect of introducing an additional quantity of the same is to diminish its previous value. Thus, if to the 400,000 slaves which we now have in this state, 100,000 more from Africa were added, the loss in market value of the 400,000 would be many hundreds of thousands of dollars. And then as soon as the demand for labor should be supplied, there would inevitably ensue an instantaneous and a vast depression, till the extreme point were reached where capital invested in the trade would yield no greater return than if invested in any other branch of commerce. The Report then discusses at some length the question who would benefit by cheap cotton; shows that the price of our great staple is not much higher than we may reasonably demand, the price of everything else in the commercial world having risen also through a combination of causes, some real, some fictitious and transitory; that the increase of a few cents in the pound is a matter of no great importance to the manufacturer, the prime cost of the article being only a small portion of the price he imposes on his customers for the manufactured goods; that the objection to slave-cotton with the vast majority of Europe is really from their apprehension as to the stability of slavery, their prevalent idea being that Southern society slumbers on a volcano; that England and France can never deprive us of our monopoly; and that not only is no great evil impending over us which a reduction in the price of cotton could avert, but that if the price were reduced it would be the British manufacturer alone who would reap the benefit." P. 118.

The following demolishes a small appeal to the "poor white folks:—"

"The third argument is, that to reopen the trade will be for the advantage of the poor non-slaveholder. This is, of all arguments, the weakest. The poor man, who holds no slaves, has no source of wealth but his own labor; and the effect of this trade, it is maintained, will be to cheapen labor. If it cheapen the labor that is to be bought, it will also, in like proportion, cheapen the labor that is to buy. It would be hard to show how this can benefit the poor man that holds no slaves." P. 120.

The following explains how many negroes must be imported to reduce the price of slave staples one half, and then could not do it:

"The first objection arises from the number of Africans it will require. The end proposed is to reduce the price of slave staples, say to one half. Then you must double the amount of labor, which is now, say four million slaves, by importing four millions of negroes from Africa. But you must add something to make up for their want of efficiency. Three American negroes are certainly equal to four Africans; the number, then, to be imported will be four thirds of four millions. But the value of one four millions will be reduced by contamination at least one fourth, which will require an additional importation of four thirds of one million, making the whole number required, in order to double our labor, equal to four thirds of four millions added to four thirds of one million. But labor is but one element of price. To reduce the price of slave produce, the slave-trade must affect the cost also of land and transportation. Now, allow that land and transportation contribute two fifths to price, and leave for labor the other three fifths. The reduction upon this two fifths of the price (which two fifths equal, of course, two thirds of the labor element) will call for an additional importation of two thirds of four millions of American slaves, equal to four thirds of two thirds of four millions of African slaves. The grand total, therefore, of importation to accomplish a reduction of one half in the price of slave staples, will thus be four thirds of four millions *plus* four thirds of one million, *plus* four thirds of two thirds of four millions, equal to ten and two ninths millions! Those who are surprised at the result must remember that political problems involve more than one condition, and are not to be solved by simple

arithmetic. The calculus would be a much more suitable instrument for investigation. The project, of course, never could go so far. Long before it could reach this point the market of slaves would be glutted; slave labor worthless—nay, an incubus; cotton down to five or six cents; the English manufacturer bloated with wealth; the planter not able to buy provisions or clothing for his slaves." P. 120.

In conclusion, we believe that a path of unsurpassed prosperity and unsullied honor lies before the South, if she only has the grace to pursue it. We have indicated it in a previous number. It is freedom. Let her renounce the slave system as a permanent institute; let her open her soil to the millions of free intelligent laborers. Her market can thereby be maintained; her lands can rise to an unparalleled value; her direct commerce with Europe can be opened; and her superior influence in the government can be more safely admitted than when it brings not only a sectional predominance, but national despotism in behalf of domestic servitude.

II.—Foreign Reviews.

- I. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1858.—1. The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, its Nature and Proof: 2. The American Bible Society and its New Standard Edition of the English Version: 3. Negro Citizenship: 4. Dr. Pusey and the Church in the United States: 5. Imputation, a Fact of Revelation: 6. Should the Bible be Retranslated? 7. The Controversy with Rome.—Alford on 2 Thessalonians ii, 1-12: 8. Results and Prospects of Missions in India: 9. Critical Notices.
- II. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, April, 1858.—1. Merope: a Tragedy: 2. Strauss's Life of Ulrich von Hutten: 3. Recent Contributions to the Study of Latin Literature: 4. Swedenborgiana: 5. The Old English Nobility: 6. Religion and Society: Paley and Channing: 7. Earl Grey on Reform: 8. The Waverley Novels: 9. Louis Napoleon at Home and Abroad.
- III. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCE, April, 1858.—1. The Education of the Middle Classes: 2. Social Aspects of Imperial Rome: 3. Buckle's Civilization in England: 4. Personal Details and Incidents of the Indian Mutiny: 5. Harvey's Edition of S. Irenæus: 6. Female Occupation and Influence: 7. The Eucharistic Controversy in Scotland.
- IV. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1858.—1. Froude's History of England: 2. Gustave Planche and French Fine Art Criticism: 3. Credit, Currency, and Banking: 4. The Moral Discipline of Children: 5. Professor Powell's Christianity without Judaism: 6. Residence above the Clouds—The Peak of Teneriffe: 7. Horace Walpole: 8. Cowper's *Analecta Nicæna*: 9. Commerce with India, Past and Present: 10. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.
- V. THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, May, 1858.—1. Philosophy of History—Niebuhr and Sir G. C. Lewis: 2. Professor Owen's Works: 3. Gothic Architecture—Present and Future: 4. The Scottish Universities—Defects and Remedies: 5. Physical Geography of the Sea: 6. Parliamentary Government and Representation: 7. Dugald Stewart: 8. Patristic Theology and its Apologists: 9. Rifle Practice: 10. Poems by Coventry Patmore: 11. Recent Publications.
- VI. THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1858.—1. Annals of California: 2. The Eastern Church: 3. Thiers's History of the Consulate and the Empire: 4. The Railways of Great Britain: 5. Edgar Allan Poe: 6. Speeches of Lord Brougham: 7. Buckle's History of Civilization in England: 8. The Conquest of Oude: 9. The Second Derby Ministry.

VII. THE *QUARTERLY REVIEW*, April, 1858. — 1. Boswell—Early Life of Johnson : 2. Fictions of Bohemia : 3. Italian Tours and Tourists : 4. The Progress of English Agriculture : 5. Michael Angelo : 6. Public Speaking : 7. Personal Narratives of the Siege of Lucknow : 8. France and the late Ministry.

VII. THE *LONDON REVIEW*, April, 1858. — 1. Christianity in India : 2. Atkinson's Travels in Siberia, Tartary, etc. : 3. The Bank Charter, and Commercial Credit : 4. Pioneers of American Methodism : 5. French Versions of Chaucer and Gay : 6. Darling's Bibliography : 7. Lady Travelers in Norway : 8. The Risen Saviour —Works on the Forty Days : 9. Births, Marriages, and Deaths : 10. The Danubian Principalities.

By a change of title, very acceptable to its American friends, the *London Quarterly Review* is now the *London Review*.

The first article, that on CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA, from the pen of Mr. Arthur we presume, gives an account of the attempts to Christianize, from the semi-mythical mission of the Apostle Thomas to the present day. The chief interest of the article, however, is centered on that part of the subject included in the period of English occupation ; and the interest must be acknowledged to possess a painful and mortifying character.

English politicians in India have followed the policy of sacrificing Christianity and courting heathenism, in order to conciliate the Hindoos to their own supremacy. For more than thirty years after the first conquest of India, not an English missionary appeared in India. At the close of that period, William Carey, a shoemaker, who by zealous study qualified himself for an eminent ministry, not being allowed to sail as a missionary to India under the British flag, went in a Danish ship. The English Asiatic government, instead of gaining the esteem of the natives by frankly professing their religion, with the assurance that their religion forbade to propagate it by force or self-interest, really diminished the respect of the Hindoo by ignoring all acknowledgment or practice of Christianity, and so either appearing perfectly irreligious or suspiciously hypocritical. Mr. Chamberlain, the Baptist missionary, having ventured up the Ganges to Hurdwar, was arrested and brought back a prisoner to Calcutta. Dr. Judson from America, the now celebrated missionary, was deported from the Indian shores.

While these outrages were preventing the missionary work, government placed native Christian converts under disabilities. Thus was exhibited the melancholy spectacle of a Christian government, from motives of unhallowed policy, persecuting its own religion ! Exclusion from official station, exclusion from the government college in Calcutta, and even imprisonment, were inflicted as penalties on the natives who embraced the Christian faith. But while Christianity was thus discouraged and persecuted, paganism was honored, endowed, and sustained. Lord Clive presented three hundred and seventy pounds to an idol at the great temple of Conjeeverum. Decaying temples were repaired. Sacred property was conserved for temple use by the government. Christian officers and soldiers were forced to perform processions in honor of idols. So flagrant were such requirements that Sir Peregrine Maitland preferred to resign rather than comply. "At this moment the government still retains an extensive connection with idolatry. In the *Bombay Guardian* of November 21, 1857, it is stated that 'in the Madras Presidency there are now 8,292 idols and temples receiving from government the annual payment of

£87,678. In the Bombay Presidency there are 26,589 idols and temples under state patronage, receiving grants to the amount of £30,587 10s. For the whole of the company's territories there is annually expended in the support of idolatry, by the servants of the company, the large sum of £171,558." From this sad account we draw the one dismal consolation, that political meanness is not confined to our own country. The self-prostration of the American government, civil and ecclesiastical, to conciliate the Juggernaut of American slavery, is quite rivaled by the English servility to the Juggernaut of Indian idolatry. We presume not to graduate the comparative debasement of the parallel flunkeyisms.

There is one relief to the picture. The English government could not wholly disregard the plea that Christianity made for the abolition of the more inhuman parts of Hindoo superstition. Infant murder at the Ganges was forbidden; "the fearful sacrifices at the Goomsmur were put down;" the Thugs were nearly suppressed, and the rite of widow burning was abolished.

One effect of the rebellion has been to bring into full notice the existence of a true Christian element, which has shown itself honorably firm, even to martyrdom for its Christianity, as well as loyalty to the government. The following statistics present a view of Christianity in India:

"Missionary stations.....	313
Missionaries.....	395
Native ordained ministers.....	48 }
Native preachers called catechists.....	698 }
Natives professing the Christian religion.....	112,191
Communicants.....	18,410

SCHOOLS.

Vernacular schools.....	1,347
English ".....	126
Boarding ".....	93
Girls' day ".....	347
Girls' boarding ".....	102 2,015

SCHOLARS.

In vernacular schools.....	47,504
In English ".....	14,562
In boarding ".....	2,414
Girls' day ".....	11,519
Girls' boarding ".....	2,779 78,778
Bible Societies.....	8
Tract and Book Societies.....	15
Translations of the whole Bible.....	10
Translations of the New Testament.....	5
Printing establishments.....	25

The amount contributed in India for missionary purposes, in 1851, was £33,500"

Under a supposition, the writer makes the following statement of the Christianizing plans to which the rebellion has aroused the pious enterprise of England.

"Suppose that during the May meetings of last year the directors of the various missionary societies had met to consult upon the extension of their efforts in India. What would have been thought of one who said, 'We must find a plan to excite such a public interest in the subject, that before next May the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel shall come forward with a proposal to double the number of its missionaries; the Church Missionary Society originate a special

fund, and receive twenty thousand pounds; the London Society propose to send out twenty men in two years, and the Wesleyan ten in one; the Baptist and the Bible Society contemplate extension; and a new society be formed for providing school-masters and school-books in the native languages?" The interest which could not have been raised by a whole host of human agents running to and fro, has been awakened by the echo of a single footstep in the solemn march of Providence." P. 32.

The article (fourth) on the PIONEERS OF AMERICAN METHODISM, selects as specimens, Bishops Asbury, Roberts, Hedding, Bascom, with Finley, Cartwright, and William Taylor, the California street-preacher.

The article opens with a review of the past intercourse between the two bodies of Methodism, and thus notices the visit of our late delegation:

"The visit of the last American deputation, especially, will not soon be forgotten in this country. Three such men have seldom appeared as the representatives of a single Church; and they remained long enough to become known, both in their public and private capacity, to a wide circle of friends; and they have won an abiding place in many English hearts. Bishop Simpson is said to have remarkable administrative talents, which have been exercised with great advantage in the American Church; but in this country he was recognized at once as a preacher of no ordinary gifts. There is something overwhelming in his abundant and vehement eloquence. His mind is keenly sensitive of the profound and various truths which the subject of his ministry brings before him, and his illustrations have a rude grandeur which remind us of the scenery of his native land; but the characteristic of his preaching is intense moral power. He rushes upon the soul with all the weight of his important message. We have seen a vast audience swayed by his address, like the trees in a forest by a strong north wind; and then we have gained some notion of the effect produced in the camp-meetings of America, when some kindred, if not equal, genius, armed with the mightiest of moral truths, hurls them with irresistible force among the crowd. Dr. McClintock is a preacher of a different stamp. With much of the same energy of mind and purpose, he adopts a wider platform of discourse, and presses into the service of the sanctuary all the resources of logic and philosophy. For this feature his literary talents and experience will partially account; but in some degree it is characteristic of the American pulpit. Mr. Milburn, the third and uncommissioned member of this party, found in this country a peculiar welcome, prompted by his unusual store of gifts and graces. It needed not the fact of his almost total blindness to enlist the sympathies of English Christians in his behalf. He was the favorite of nature before he became the child of misfortune; his single privation opened the sources of a thousand pure delights; and while years ripened his faculties, and brought 'the philosophic mind,' the blessings of grace were also added to hallow and consummate the gifts of genius. As a pulpit orator, Mr. Milburn is distinguished for the number of his advantages and the range of his powers. His face indicates the utmost sensibility, and harmonizes well with the sweetness of a voice which is capable of expressing peculiar tenderness and concern; but his voice is powerful as well as sweet, and passes with astonishing ease from tones of almost feminine pathos to notes of thrilling energy and power. His attitudes of dignity and grace are not less admirable; and all these advantages are well employed to subserve the chief purpose of a ministry which is distinguished by the largest reasoning, the most beautiful illustration, and the most persuasive appeals. To those who have not had the privilege of hearing Mr. Milburn, the little work, whose title we have given, will furnish a faithful but inadequate idea of his genius. We shall borrow from it, as occasion may require, illustrations of some of the points hereafter to be considered." P. 78.

The following is the reviewer's impression of Bascom:

"Bishop Bascom was the most eloquent orator, perhaps, that has ever appeared among our transatlantic co-religionists. All the finest characteristics of the pioneer band seemed to have combined and culminated in this extraordinary man." P. 96.

William Taylor is discussed at some length, as a model worthy of more study in England than he is likely to receive, at a time when Churchmen and prelates are turning their attention to the spiritual condition of the masses.

Of Hibbard on the Psalms the *London Review* expresses the highest opinion. We take from its notice the following passages:

"This edition of the Book of Psalms we greatly admire, and cordially recommend it to every student of the Holy Scriptures. It is not a Commentary, in the ordinary sense of the word; it is simply a new edition of the English authorized version; but based on a principle which gives it an immeasurable advantage over every other similar work with which we are acquainted." P. 273.

"He has accomplished his task in the most reverent and humble spirit; simply giving the results of long and patient research in the disposition of the several Psalms, adopting the appropriate metrical form, but retaining the authorized version, with its marginal annotations. Of the value of his running introductions we cannot speak too highly. They are, indeed, the distinctive characteristic and highest recommendation of the volume. The light which they shed upon the preacher's critical study of the text is far more important than any one would suppose who was not used to its aid in his studies; and we are doing good service to all young ministers, when we recommend them to make this edition of the Psalms their working companion." P. 274.

The *London Review* sustains a high rank among its older competitors, the Quarterlies of England and Scotland. We cannot but regret, however, its complete adoption of their impersonal character, and stiff mechanical form. No reason for this icy reserve exists which is not founded upon notions of spurious dignity, or adherence to a custom surviving its own original causes and reasons.

ART. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

I.—Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

(1.) "*Sermons for the New Life*, by HORACE BUSHNELL." (12mo., pp. 456. New-York: Charles Scribner. 1858.) Mr. Bushnell is not a pulpit orator, but a pulpit thinker. His pages and paragraphs furnish the unfoldings of deep, earnest, often recondite religious thought. That thought, through the agency of master mind, invests itself in its own terse, graphic, and most true expression. Sermons more eloquent, in the emotional sense of the word, have often been preached; bolder and more stirring appeals to the popular feeling, or to the common conscience, are sent forth weekly; but our American pulpit has lately furnished no volume presenting so deep a reach of thought in the speaker, or pre-supposing so high a power of moral and intellectual appreciation on the part of the congregation.

We cannot but regret that so much of Mr. Bushnell's thoughts have heretofore been engrossed with dogmatic difficulties with his more orthodox fellow-clergy. The discussions thence arising, however intense and marked by ability, were sectional and transitory. Mr. Bushnell ought to address the Christian world on topics of world-wide interest, commanding a world-wide audience. We know no good reason why Isaac Taylor (whom he somewhat resembles) has spread so much broader a wake over the surface of the public mind, other than lies in the greater breadth and more permanent interest of the topics he has treated.

Mr. Bushnell has a deep insight and a searching power of tracing the relations of great truths to each other. The overmastering trait of his productions is cool, stern, slow, moving *intellect*; yet intellect gently interpenetrated and made malleable by moral feeling. Imagination, too, there is, but none for its own sake. He has no time to spend in mere picture drawing. And yet there is that imagination by the light of which the *thought* shall stand out in its own true beauty, grandeur, deformity, or terror. In a Butler the grandest truths are brown and dry. You have to unclothe them of their homespun apparel, and behold them in themselves, in order to acknowledge the wonder that is in them. But here the truths in whose vast presence our immortal being is ever traveling, stand in their own power. For truths are in themselves grand, beautiful, terrible, and the reverse; and truth is most truly presented when these attributes are made most visible and impressive to the view.

Mr. Bushnell does not, like a Tyng or a Cuyler, approach the popular mind with impulsive appeals to its immediate sensations on exciting but ephemeral topics; nor, like Beecher, thrill and rive the heart of the audience with sudden dartings of intuition felt at once by the common mind as disclosing, by their flash, new depths within its own nature. Hence Mr. Bushnell is not *broadly* popular. He is too reserved, deliberate, sententious, and aloof. His trains are the still workings of rarer thought. Earnest, but not impulsive; deep, not rapid; independent, yet not erratic; reflective, but not occult, he is the preacher for the thoughtful. Most preachers should limit their efforts to the listening congregations within their church. Mr. Bushnell preaches best to the select but wide-spread congregation of the thoughtful world.

(2.) "*Select Discourses*, by ADOLPHE MONOD, KRUMMACHER, THOLUCK, and JULIUS MULLER: Translated from the French and German, with Biographical Notices, and Dr. MONOD's celebrated Lecture on the Delivery of Sermons. By Rev. H. C. FISH, and Rev. D. W. POOR, D.D. With a fine steel portrait of MONOD." (12mo., pp. 408. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1858.) In the matter of publishing selected sermons of eminent masters in homiletics, Mr. Fish has opened a placer which he works with much skill and continued success. The present volume introduces some of the best specimens of foreign preaching to the English and to the American public. As specimens of eminent talent, eloquence, and piety, these sermons will be read with no inferior interest.

Krummacher is the pulpit Luther of living Germany. His vehement, graphic, homely paragraphs, poured forth from a Herculean frame, with a voice

"as when a lion roareth," obviously embrace a power for an instant, overwhelming effect. His illustrations are pictorial, etched with rough and almost coarse power. Like the great Reformer, he makes spiritual realities stalk before you; he can see the live devil plainly enough to fling an inkstand at him.

In Tholuck we recognize the blended gentleness, poetic sentiment, tinging metaphysics, and deep spirituality of the great deep scholar, who lays by his tomes for an hour to indulge his spiritual emotions, or apply to real life the power of Christian truth.

But richest of all, most truly uniting the profound with the spontaneously popular, is Monod. The German seems to be unalterably subtle; and when he leaves his professor's chair and comes into the pulpit, you feel that he is "the schoolmaster abroad" rather than the preacher at home. But the Frenchman is as genuinely popular and rich as he is scholarly and penetrating. He is not abroad in the chair, and he is truly at home in the pulpit.

We presume that the translations are done with sufficient accuracy, and that the English needs no criticism. But we must be allowed to say that there is no such English word as "*helpmeet*." Hence we regret to notice the plentiful use of that vulgarism in the translation of Monod's "*Mission of Woman*;" and especially the very inadvertent note in regard to it on page 20: "This is the rendering of the French for '*helpmeet*': *Un aide semblable à lui*." Now, first, the text of Monod is no "rendering for *helpmeet*;" for Monod does not render "*helpmeet*" or any other English or pseudo-English word at all. His work is not a translation from the English. Second, the term *helpmeet* is a popular agglutination of the two words *help* and *meet* in the second chapter of *Genesis*; where woman is impliedly styled a *help* suitable or *meet* for man; for which phrase Monod's French is a sufficient parallel. The French is indeed a precise translation of the Greek *βοηδός ὁμοιος αὐτῷ*. Third, the Hebrew phrase, *a help as before him*, expresses the image of a counterpart meeting, fitting, and corresponding to him, and is a most striking conception, given in words of beautiful simplicity. Now the adjective *meet* like the verb *meet*, expresses this precise idea; and in the phrase a *help meet* or *meeting* for him we have both etymologically and conceptually one of the most exquisite bits of translation on record.

(3.) "*Woman: Her Mission and Life*, by ADOLPHE MONOD, D.D., late Minister in Paris, France. Translated from the French. With a biographical sketch of the author, and a portrait from steel." (12mo., pp. 82. Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1858.) This elegant volume is a fine specimen of the eloquence and piety of the French Protestant Church. It will be, as it should be, acceptable to the women of America.

The "biographical sketch," though brief, is interesting. Adolphe Monod was the son of Rev. John Monod, of Paris, was graduated as Bachelor of Letters by the University at Paris, and was trained in theology at Geneva. Having embraced evangelical principles, he was obliged to leave a flourishing Church and begin a new religious enterprise on a private foundation in Paris, in which he was eminently successful. Thence he was called to the professorship of Sacred Eloquence in the Theological Seminary at Montau-

ban. Finally, returning to Paris, he preached with rare effect to great and delighted audiences for eight years, and was then called, in the midst of his usefulness, in 1856, to the glory of his heavenly Master above. He left three surviving brothers, Frederic, William, and Horace, all ministers, "evangelical, faithful, and most highly esteemed brethren." The following is a pleasing picture of Adolphe:

"As a preacher, it would not be asserting too much to say, that Adolphe Monod occupied the first rank in France. Although not a large man, or a man of commanding appearance, he was nevertheless a prince among preachers. His voice is said to have been melody itself, and ever under perfect control. As to his discourses, those which he delivered in large assemblies were almost invariably prepared with great care, written, and committed to memory. And yet his *extemporaneous*, or rather his *unwritten* sermons or lectures were represented as admirable for beauty of style, for clearness of conception, and for adaptation to the occasion.

"Says Dr. Baird, in a letter written several years ago: 'I have no hesitation in saying, that Adolphe Monod is the most finished orator I have heard on the continent. Modest, humble, simple in his appearance and dress, possessing a voice which is music itself, his powerful mind, and vivid but chaste imagination, made their influence felt on the soul of every hearer in a way that is indescribable. The nearest approach to giving a true idea of it would be to say, that his eloquence is of the nature of a *charm* which steals over one, and yet is so subtle that it is not possible to say in what consists its elemental force. It is an eloquence the very opposite of that of the late Dr. Chalmers, which was like a torrent that carries everything away. I have often heard Ravignan, the great Jesuit preacher, in France; and Bautain, by far the best preacher, in my opinion, in the Roman Catholic Church that I have heard, but they were much inferior to Adolphe Monod. If the late Professor Vinet, of Lausanne,' he adds, 'was the *Pascal* of the French Protestants in these days (as he certainly was,) Dr. Adolphe Monod was their *Bossuet*. But Drs. Vinet and Monod were incomparably superior to Pascal and Bossuet as expounders of evangelical truth, which is, after all, the highest glory of the Christian teacher.'

"It is well known that the late Abbé Lacordaire, the Dominican, who was by far the most popular of the Romish priests in France, in his day, remarked to his friends, after hearing him: 'We are all children in comparison with this man.' Besides a strong and vivid intellect, what the French call *onction* was the characteristic of Monod's preaching. He was ineffably impressed himself with the truth he preached, and the earnestness of his soul thrilled every tone and every gesture.

"But great as were Dr. Monod's talents, and fascinating as was his eloquence, these qualities were rivaled by his unfeigned piety, his profound humility, his cordial friendship, his simple and truly Christian manners, the purity of his conversation, and the uniform cheerfulness of his life."

(4.) "*Hymns of the Church Militant.*" (18mo., pp. 640. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1858.) "Simply a book of hymns for private use." Devotion takes her natural form of melody. Is it a proof that our piety is growing more cheerful and joyous, that it seems to grow more and more hymnic? Genius is constantly increasing the wealth of our religious anthology, and increasing taste and fondness are constantly wreathing it into new collections. The Church, through all her sections, is growing, as it were, happy and vocal, as if with a presentiment that more and more joyous days were before her. And it is just here, in the region of holy emotion whence the jet of sacred song springs up, that Christians of opposing names find a blessed point of union. This is a new thought, perhaps; and yet three independent writers were lately engaged in penning it about the same time. It is contained in the January

number of the Princeton Review, and of the Presbyterian Review, and it is thus finely expressed in the Preface of this work:

"And they [our hymns] tell that the Church is one. In prose, one denomination will war with another—war and strive, as some of the disciples did—for a place above the rest. The Church militant is to outward eyes often a Church divided against itself, every banner attacking every other, forgetful that the great standard of the Prince of peace floats over all.

"Yet this is but a difference of head—look here at their hearts. Read Luther and some old Catholic monk side by side; read Wesley and all he ever opposed, or who ever opposed him. They fight still, but it is with themselves, with sin, with unbelief."—P. iv.

"And herein again they are one, 'as sorrowing, yet always rejoicing,' as esteeming 'the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.' With one voice they sing:

'Heavenward the waves I'll breast
Till in heaven I am at rest.'

"Heavenward with Christ, after him. His headship over the Church is wonderfully set forth in their songs. They ever say with the old martyr, 'None but Christ!'"—P. v.

The collector of this elegant volume—who writes herself Anna Warner—has made free use of the best hymnologists of our language; as far as possible resuming the unaltered language of the original writer. Her most copious selections are from Charles Wesley, Montgomery, Watts, and Toplady. The lovers of hymnic devotion will prize her volume.

(5.) "*Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft und Christliches Leben.* Begründet durch Dr. JUL. MÜLLER, Dr. AUG. NEANDER. Dr. K. J. NITZSCH. Achter Jahrgang." (Berlin, den 26 December. No. 52. 1857.) We have received this single number of the *Deutsche Zeitschrift* from our friend, W. F. Warren. It consists entire of an essay read by him before Professor Piper's Theological Class, and published, by request of Professor Tholuck, in this paper. The essay is a brief "History of Rationalism in the Theology of New-England." It begins with a picture of the period of high Calvinism prevalent from 1620 to the middle of the eighteenth century. In tracing its decline, first toward rationality, and then toward rationalism, he names Edwards as the starting point. Edwards, he informs his German friends, nearly unknown to Germany as he is, wholly unknown until Professor Stowe uttered his name in Hertzog's Encyclopedia, is a giant; the giant of English-American Calvinist Theology. Yet the true father of New Divinity, he says, is President Dwight. From him it branches down to Beecher and Barnes, to Dr. Taylor and Dr. Park. Collateral double offshoots, reactionary in their character, are Universalism, with no eminent and worthy name, and Unitarianism led on by Channing, aided by Ware and Gannett, as one branch; and later, by Theodore Parker and his followers as another branch. The decline and prospective failure of these heterodox offshoots are described; and credit is given to the Freewill Baptists and Methodists as furnishing a resource for numbers whose dissatisfaction with Puritanism might have otherwise led them into heterodoxy. As the result the writer claims that no country in the world, Scotland perhaps excepted, is so permeated with the healthful influences of evangelical truth.

(6.) "*The New-York Pulpit in the Revival of 1858. A Memorial Volume of Sermons.*" (12mo., pp. 395. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. London: Trübner & Co. 1858.) "A Memorial Volume" this is called; for that when men at a distance in space or time shall ask, Of what sort was the preaching of the eminent divines in the New-York revival of 1858? this book shall be the answer. It is, in most respects, a suitable answer. These sermons are fair specimens of the best American preaching. They are not such as *were* the English sermons—pulpit dissertations. They are not such as the French—pulpit orations. They are true *sermons*, shaped by trained and able men for the direct effect, and instinct with the earnest intention. The specimens from Methodist divines are, "Incentives to seek companionship with Israel," by Dr. Kennaday; "The Strait Gate," by Dr. M'Clintock; and "The Life Battle," by Dr. J. T. Peck.

We have said that the book was suitable "in most respects." The editor had, we think, a true catholic purpose; but the first sermon, by Dr. Alexander, was unsuitable for the volume. Its professed object is to give a comprehensive view of revival history in past ages; but it studiously ignores all in modern days which is not of the Calvinistic pattern; and nearly all, in this country, not of the true blue Presbyterian hue. We should have no objection to this exclusiveness were Dr. Alexander standing on his own home grounds. A certain writer makes Napoleon to have said, "Beyond European Russia the world ends." With Dr. A. and his class, beyond Calvinism the world ends; all outside is *terra incognita* or non-entity to his peculiar strabismus. We advise the liberal editor to strike out this piece of sectarianism, and substitute as the leader for so catholic a volume the production of some man whose eye can take in the whole horizon of evangelical Christianity.

(7.) "*Biblical Commentary on The New Testament.* By Dr. HERMANN OLSHAUSEN, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Continued after his death by Dr. JOHN HENRY AUGUSTUS EBRARD, and LIC. AUGUSTUS WIESINGER. Translated from the German for Clark's Foreign and Theological Library. Revised after the latest German edition by A. C. KENDRICK, D.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester." Vol. VI. (8vo., pp. 624. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1858.) After what we have said in previous numbers of this great work, we need only present the following extract from the editor's Prefatory Note:

"The present volume brings down the Commentary continuously to the close of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It completes, and more than completes, the original plan of the publishers, which was merely to republish the work so far as it had already appeared in English. It embraces in addition to that, Wiesinger's Exposition of the Second Epistle to Timothy and the Epistle to Philemon, translated by the editor. It leaves the Catholic Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude, and the Revelation, which will be comprised in another volume when the German work shall be completed. The editor cannot forbear to add his belief that the present volume will not be found inferior in interest and value to any of its predecessors."

(8.) "*Lights and Shades of Missionary Life; containing Travels, Sketches, Incidents, and Missionary Efforts, during nine years spent in the region of Lake Superior,* by Rev. JOHN H. PITEZEL *alias* WA-ZAH-WAH-

WA-DOONG, or Yellow Beard." (12mo., pp. 431. Cincinnati: Western Book Concern.) The missionary labors here detailed are of a genuine stamp. They were performed in the midst of difficulties, physical and moral. No missionary work is more difficult and arduous than that among our Indian tribes bordering upon the white settlements. The true missionary spirit is also apparent in this volume, uttered in earnest pleadings for the poor Indian. All good men, we believe, when brought into actual contact with this unfortunate class of our fellow-men, have had not only sympathy excited in their behalf, but hope for their improvement. We find such to have been the case with the author of this volume. The assumption that Indian missions have proved a failure is denied as utterly unfounded, while the beneficial effects of Christianity are shown by many facts. The chapters on "Indian Characteristics," and "Plea for Indian Missions," present the author's views and reasons on this point. The last chapter is devoted to the physical features and natural resources of the Lake Superior region. It is undoubtedly destined to wealth and eminence.

L.

(9.) "*Notes Practical and Explanatory on the Gospels.* By REV. CHARLES H. HALL." (2 vols., pp. 429, 400. Appleton & Co. 1857.) Making due allowances for the stand-point of the author, this must be pronounced a commentary of more than ordinary excellence. It is frankly intended for an Episcopalian manual, and as such abounds with references to the Prayer Book, the Rubric, and the writings of the great English divines. It has an unnecessarily favorable recognition of the amusement of dancing. It very coolly intimates that the Episcopalian denomination in this country is precluded from the exercise of severe discipline, from the fact that the surrounding Churches will admit their excommunicates. But apart from these peculiarities, there is much learning, pertinence, illustration, vivacity of style, and practical piety in the volumes. Indeed, we have seen no late issue of the press in the form of commentary which is in these respects superior.

(10.) "*Our Little Ones in Heaven.* Edited by the author of the *Aimwell Stories.*" (24mo., pp. 248. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1858.) Everything is valuable according to the want that demands it; and for this little gem there is many a suffering heart will feel an estimation no way proportioned to its minute size or trifling price. The little volume contains, first, a series of arguments in proof of infant salvation; and second, a collection of extracts from the best authors in relation to deceased infants.

(11.) "*Sermons of the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, of London. Fourth Series.*" (12mo., pp. 445. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1858.) Our October number will furnish a full article upon Spurgeon. The present volume appears to be characterized by his usual practical and popular power. It has also some infantile attempts at Theology in the form of starts at Arminianism—a doctrine of which he is probably equally incapable of giving either a refutation or a statement.

(12.) "*Sermons and Addresses delivered on Special Occasions.* By JOHN HARRIS, D.D., late President of New College, London. Second Series." (12mo., pp. 390. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New-York: Sheldon, Blake-man, & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1853.) It is unnecessary for us to commend to the public the merits of an author upon whom the public has so decidedly pronounced as Dr. Harris. His pages are gorgeous with rich imagination and the most sonorous declamation. Indeed we could accuse him of too constant a strain, of too monotonous a flow of eloquence. We tire, as we do in Milton, of his very tirelessness; we ask relief and repose. We soon lay him aside, and wait for the hour of high communion before we can again resume him. That he is a true elevator of our tone of thought, is the plentiful experience of thousands of admiring readers. That he is a safe model for the young sermonizer we are not so sure.

(13.) "*The Bow in the Cloud and The First Bereavement.* By Rev. JOHN R. MACDUFF, Author of *Footsteps of St. Paul*." (18mo., pp. 150. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.) Two publications in a single volume. The first is a diary of Scripture consolations, founded upon a text, and expressed with purity and pathos, for every day of the month. The second is addressed to mourners for the first departure of a beloved child. He who has never mourned, or he who rejects the richest of consolations, will alone find this an unacceptable work.

(14.) "*What must I do to be Saved?* By JESSE T. PECK, D.D." (18mo., pp. 192. New-York: Carlton & Porter. 1858.) Here is the pastor's aid in the revival. It is a searching appeal to the inquiring sinner, a directory in the way of salvation, and a counsellor in the work of growth in Christian life. It is written in a strain of attractive eloquence, and should be scattered broadcast, especially among the youthful part of our congregations.

(15.) "*The Living Way; or, Suggestions and Counsels concerning some of the Privileges and Duties of the Christian Life,* by JOHN ATKINSON." (18mo., pp. 139. Carlton & Porter.) This is the production of a young minister of the Newark Conference, and is a practical treatise of piety, written in an attractive style, and intended to promote the fruits of holy life. No Christian should lose the means of spiritual advancement furnished by practical and devotional reading, and for such ends this work may be safely recommended.

II.—*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(16.) "*History of the Inductive Sciences from the earliest to the present Time,* by WILLIAM WHEWELL, D. D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. The third Edition, with Additions." (In two volumes, pp. 566, 645. Appleton & Co.) To trace the steps by which the human mind, having awakened and taken the true direction, has persisted to erect the present wonderful structure of human physical science is, we could almost say, the most valuable part of human secular history. To trace the *principles* of the human mind, and the systematic *modes* of operation by which these steps have been historically taken,

constitutes a most valuable part of theoretic and practical philosophy. The first of these two tasks Professor Whewell has ably performed in the present two noble volumes, laid by the Appletons upon our table; the second he has performed in his *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, a work not yet republished in this country.

The present work is divided into the three usual chronological parts of history, the Ancient, the Middle, and the Modern. In the ancient history we have a few tentative starts, as often in the wrong as in the right direction, terminating in confessed failure, or what was perhaps worse, the production of a spurious science, "philosophy falsely so called." In the middle period science is "stationary." But a single Book of the work is devoted to this age. That Book treats, in the successive chapters, not of discoveries and advancements, but of "the indistinctness of ideas," "the commentatorial spirit," "the mysticism," "the dogmatism" of the Middle Ages; with but one brief Chapter on the "advancement of the arts." Archbishop Hughes's remark, that the "Dark Ages are so called by Protestants because they are in the dark in regard to them," has point but not truth. The more thorough the exploration, the more complete the proof that these ages, like other regions, were dark simply from want of light. And this position stands wholly unrefuted by the appeals to a few arts that flourished in a few isolated but very important discoveries which accident threw up or groping experiment detected. Unscientific art ever precedes science. Art is constructive action; science is the system constructed; knowledge and construction, principles. Science succeeds art, and her province is to generate those wide generalizations, and inaugurate the system of principles under which whole ranks of applications shall produce new arts. Thus progressing in mutual reactions, art and science are marching on to the millennium of civilization. And herein consists much of the reality of human progress, of which so much in these days is said. The successive advancements of the sciences are like the steps of a geometrical demonstration, along which the human mind once awakened is impelled by its own natural action consecutively to travel, each antecedent suggesting its consequent, until the result is conquered. Since the Progressive Age, in our modern times, has fully set in, the sciences have arisen, like spacious apartments of a great temple. Astronomy, acoustics, optics, thermotics and atmology, electricity, magnetism, galvanism, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, zoology, physiology, comparative anatomy, and geology have developed from the condition of scanty and conjectural knowledge to the grandest of structural sciences, whose foundations and walls are firmly established, but whose edifices are still in a state of advancing completion. So wonderful is nature as she meets us; so wonderful is mind as she meets nature; and so wonderful is the product of the mutual action of nature and mind.

The libraries of our literary institutions, as well of as our of literary men, are incomplete without this work.

(17.) "*Annual of Discovery*; or, Year Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1858, exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoo-

logy, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc. Together with a List of recent Scientific Publications, a classified List of Patents, Obituaries of eminent Men, Notes on the Progress of Science during the Year 1857, etc. Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A.M." (12mo., pp. 419. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1858.) This work is an almanac of science, valuable as a reference for the scientific man. It contains several dissertations of much interest, among which may specially be named one by Professor Helmholtz, of Bonn, "On the Interaction of Natural Forces."

III.—History, Biography, and Topography.

(18.) "*Annals of the American Pulpit*; or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations. With Historical Introductions, by WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D.D." (Volumes III, IV, pp. 631, 829. New-York: Carter & Brothers.) Two solid blocks more of Dr. Sprague's tall monument. The prompt appearance of these volumes, we are gratified to learn, is the result of the unequivocal and cheering success of the first two. The completion of the work on the ample scale first contemplated by its projector, may, therefore, be considered a welcome reality.

In the hope expressed in the preface that "the two volumes now published will not fall below the preceding ones in point of interest," there will be no disappointment. The present issue far excels the previous in interest and attractiveness. We emerge from the monotonous homeliness which unequivocally colored the previous volumes, into a freer variety, a more genial warmth, a richer æsthetical gracefulness. The stern, plain North will do for a change, is delightful for a vacation excursion under the blaze of the dogstar; but let us have free range, too, toward the tropics, and even enjoy the best breezes of the "sunny South." And in the wide area which Presbyterianism has overspread in our country, she has produced the best specimens of her denominational history in pulpit oratory; and some among the best specimens of the eloquent preacher of our American pulpit. We cannot complain of the want of a pulpit orator in the list. Samuel Davies, John M. Mason, and Henry Kollock, are most clearly entitled to that epithet. The most brilliant, perhaps, of them all, Sylvester Larned, (a name to be ranked with Summerfield and Spencer,) beamed but for a moment, to be quenched on earth forever. And then there follow a train of varied qualities, eloquent preachers, practical exhorters, learned theologians, dignified gentlemen, active and useful men, devout Christians, constituting a "goodly fellowship" in whose society it is a pleasure to be seated. There is, also, a variety of marked character, whose portraiture affords opportunity for vivid delineation and spicy anecdote. In fine, we contemplate the great and powerful denomination represented in these valuable volumes, with a cordial acknowledgment how much of what is good and hopeful in our country and the world is due to its learning, its zeal, its ability, and its piety.

(19.) "*Memoir of Captain M. M. Hammond—Rifle Brigade.*" (12mo., pp. 372. New-York: Carter & Brothers.) This is a well-written, interesting,

and instructive memoir of a noble man, written by the hand of fraternal affection, and dedicated to a father's love. Captain Hammond belonged to the famous rifle brigade, which so distinguished itself in the Crimean campaign, and was one of the many victims who fell during the siege of Sebastopol. He sleeps in the Crimea, dressed in his warrior's shroud, and these pages preserve his memory for many who knew and loved him. Captain H. lived the life of a soldier, entering the British army at an early age, and finishing his career on the battle-field at the age of thirty-three. He was a brave soldier, and the book introduces us to many of the exciting scenes of a soldier's life; but better still, he was a brave Christian, who, after being early converted, spent the remaining years of his life in doing good, both to the souls and bodies of men, and who, under circumstances usually supposed to be the most unpropitious for a religious life, constantly witnessed a good profession, and died in hope of a glorious immortality. We have in the book before us a well-drawn portrait of a Christian soldier, a man of a noble spirit, well-cultivated mind, and humble, devoted piety, which will furnish many an instructive and encouraging lesson to any who will peruse it, but which we would more especially commend to the young. We trace here the unfolding of a very beautiful character, the influences by which he was brought to yield his heart to the Saviour, and the unwearied and self-denying benevolence which prompted him, without regard to his own ease or comfort, to persevering effort in his Master's service. The memoir is beautifully supplied with extracts from his letters, which not only give us a view of his own experience and Christian growth, but observations on the various scenes through which he passed. An excursion through the principal cities of the United States, made while his company was stationed in Canada, furnished him opportunity for many just and generous remarks on our institutions, which manifest a genial appreciation of all that deserves praise among us.

J. W. W.

(20.) "*Father Henson's Story of his own Life.* With an Introduction by Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE." (12mo., pp. 212. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. Cleveland: H. P. B. Jewett. 1858.) Josiah Henson has been introduced to the public as the original in whom Mrs. Stowe found many of the traits for her Uncle Tom. Her introduction in effect authenticates the claim, and the character of his narrative fully sustains it. It is written in a style of pure simplicity and genial piety. It interests the attention by its adventures, and touches the "sympathetic source of tears" by its unstudied pathos. The frontispiece presents his outer semblance as a genuine man of the purest African type.

Josiah, like our friend John D. Long, first germinated, (if we rightly locate them,) among the tobacco chivalry of rural Maryland; and his pictures of that class for those days are quite as vivid and not a particle more complimentary. His earliest recollections are of an outraged mother, a mutilated father, and a separation by auction from his parents. Developing into the manliest proportions, (as verified by his engraved outline,) as he grew to manhood, he attained the degree of a "smart nigger." Under the first sermon he ever heard he melted into the tenderest piety. In a few years,

with a good supply of religion, but a scanty stock of theology, he became a Methodist preacher. Then follow details "too numerous to mention;" a drunken and shiftless master cheating him out of his bargain for freedom; a trip to the Louisiana market and an underground railroad, etc. On the shores of the dividing river a friendly guide points him to "free soil;" not under the canopy of our boasted democratic cap of liberty, but beneath the shadow of the British scepter!

Henson's visit to England, his adventure in the World's Fair, his rencontre with the queen, his interview with the archbishop, are all unwritten in Uncle Tom, and serve to verify the motto of the work: "Truth stranger than fiction." His chapter on the condition of the colored people of Canada invites particular attention. And this entire book presents for our whole country matter for the most solemn reflection.

(21.) "*Oriental and Western Siberia; a Narrative of Seven Years' Explorations and Adventures in Siberia, Mongolia, the Kirghis Steppes, Chinese Tartary, and Part of Central Asia*, by THOMAS WITLAM ATKINSON; with a Map and numerous Illustrations." (8vo., pp. 538. Harper & Brothers. 1858.) From the luxuriant plains of Central Africa to the sterile steppes of Siberia, distant as is the interval in fact, the transition is made with quick transition in books. The scope of Mr. Atkinson's travels is best described in his own language:

"Mine has been a tolerably wide field, extending from Kokhan on the west to the eastern end of the Baikal, and as far south as the Chinese town of Tchín-si, including that immense chain Syanshan, never before seen by any European, as well as a large portion of the western part of the Gobi, over which Genghis Khan marched his wild hordes towards the west—scenes on which no pencil has previously been employed—comprising a distance traversed of about 32,000 versts in carriages, 7,100 in boats, and 20,300 on horseback—in all, 59,400 versts (about 39,500 miles) in the course of seven years. Neither the old Venetian nor the Jesuit priests could have visited these regions, their travels having been far to the south; nor am I aware that they brought back any pictorial representations of the scenes through which they wandered."

Mr. Atkinson traveled under protection of a passport from the Emperor of Russia, by which his journeys were made comparatively safe and easy. His work has, by no means, the moral interest of the travels of Livingstone. He has little to say of man, of government, institutions, or prospects of civilization. His purpose was to see, describe, and sketch the natural scenery of Siberia, (including human figures,) hitherto nearly unknown to Europeans. And this he has done with great faithfulness, vividness, and success. The sketches are numerous of scenes where nature has assumed bold, peculiar, and sometimes very imitative forms. Mr. Atkinson's descriptive style is very graphic and his narrative lively and fresh. His book abounds with interest on every page.

(22.) "*History of Europe from the fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852*. By SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, Bart. Vol. III." (8vo., pp. 449. Harper & Brothers. 1858.) The qualities of Sir Archibald Alison as a historian are very patent, and his character fully appreciated by his cotemporary public. A great mastery of his subject renders him reliable as to facts. A great power of language renders him attractive as to style.

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But he writes from the stand-point of high Toryism, and his animated, well-rounded, oratorical periods, sound much like the sonorous declamations of a great Parliamentary leader, rolled out from the conservative side of the house. His history of the old French Revolution was, to all intents, a magnificent political pamphlet, applying history to prove the great maxim of obstructivism—permit not the first change; for you know not where changes, once commenced, will land you. The history of which this is the third volume, comprehends that train of events which has passed, as we may say, before the eyes of the now living men of mature age. Unlike the preceding great historic period treated by Sir Archibald, its great events were great, not from military splendor, but from their moral effect. The advances of peaceful improvements and the great interests by those advances created, have strengthened the cause of peace and heightened the prospects of human history. The present volume commences with two chapters detailing the political and literary history of Germany from the fall of Napoleon to 1858. Nine chapters detail the history of Europe, including the United States, from about 1831 to 1841. Two closing chapters give the history of British India from 1806 to 1826.

(23.) "*Wyoming: its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures.* By GEORGE PECK, D.D. With Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 430. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) No name in America melts so softly on the ear of the romantic listener as Wyoming. Not Tempe's vale rises more beautifully to the imagination. Poetry and fiction, picture and history, have all taken turn, like so many muses, in giving a touch to its celebrity. But the gravest of the muses, History, comes last, dispersing, indeed, some of the illusions of former performances, but placing the objects in the clear and closing light of truth. Nor will the historic muse be less relyingly accepted for coming in the grave and masculine guise of a doctor of divinity. We may now consider the case closed with judicial accuracy, though its facts are summed up with more than ordinary judicial vivacity. The volume before us is written with the author's usual ability, is plentifully illustrated, abounds with tales of thrilling adventure, and draws its details with scrupulous sifting from authentic sources.

(24.) *A Biographical Sketch of SIR HENRY HAVELOCK, K.C.B.*, by the REV. WILLIAM BROCK." (18mo., pp. 305. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.) Havelock was a man of marked character, and he has found a biographer equal to the task of portraying his traits. This is, indeed, but a preparatory manual preceding a large work; but it will do more than a more ponderous volume toward circulating a knowledge broadcast through the world. The style of the book is clear, animated, and sometimes eloquent. The character depicted is a model of true inflexible Christian manliness, rising into heroism when the crisis demanded. Such in some degree, indeed, must true Christianity ever be, whether in the cottage, the palace, or the pretorium.

The most brilliant part of Havelock's military career is fresh in the public mind. But it is less known that his early chosen profession was the law, and his early school companions in study, and in Christian thoughtfulness, were Julius Charles Hare, Connop Thirlwall, and Norris, Chief Justice at Ceylon.

(25.) "*California Life Illustrated*, by WILLIAM TAYLOR, of the California Conference, Author of 'Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco,' and 'Address to Young America.'" (12mo., pp. 348. New-York: Carlton & Porter, for the Author.) Mr. Taylor, as our readers may see by consulting our Synopsis of the Quarterlies, is accepted on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as on the shores of the Pacific, as a regular "pioneer." His former volume has served to convince our community that the heroic age of Methodism is by no means past, provided a field presents demanding a hero. The readers of his former work will find the interest aroused by its pages amply sustained in this. Its pictorial illustrations aid in bringing California before us.

(26.) "*History of the Republic of the United States of America*, as traced in the Writings of ALEXANDER HAMILTON and his Contemporaries, by JOHN C. HAMILTON." Vol. II. (8vo., pp. 579. Appleton & Co. 1858.) The previous volume of this work has undergone much severe criticism, upon its assumption of so much credit in behalf of Hamilton, for managing the correspondence, public and private, of Washington. The author in the present volume maintains the propriety of his course as being sustained by the stubborn facts of history. Documents in great numbers are extant, both public and private, in Hamilton's handwriting, bearing unequivocal traits of his style and mode of mental conception, and which went to their destination in the name of Washington.

(27.) "*The Every-Day Book of History and Chronology*; embracing the Anniversaries of Memorable Persons and Events, in every Period and State of the World, from the Creation to the present Time. By JOEL MUNSELL." (8vo., pp. 537. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) Every day in the year is an anniversary of something; and if you are inclined to celebrate said something so as to have a festival the whole year round, Mr. Munsell's book will tell you what to celebrate. Or if you wish to know what *other* great event happened on your birthday or its anniversary, Mr. Munsell shall show you.

(28.) "*Captivity of the Oatman Girls*, being an interesting Sketch of Life among the Apache and Mohave Indians, by R. B. STRATTON." (12mo., pp. 290. New-York: printed for the Author, 200 Mulberry-street. 1858.) This narrative is stamped with evidences of truth, and abounds with details of intense interest. The subjects of the history are well known, and objects of sympathy with the public.

IV.—Politics, Law, and General Morals.

(29.) "*Germany: its Universities, Theology, and Religion*; with Sketches of Neander, Tholuck, Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Twisten, Nitszh, Muller, Ullman, Rothe, Dorner, Lange, Ebrard, Wichern, and other distinguished German divines of the age, by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., Professor in Theological Seminary, Mercersburg, Penn." (8vo., pp. 418. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. 1857.) Though not favored by the enterprising publishers with a copy of this volume, we must not withhold from our readers the advantage of a notice of its contents. From Dr. Schaff's advantages, arising from his thorough acquaintance with both countries and his mastery of their literatures, languages, and general peculiarities, an inquiring reader will be prepared to expect in him no ordinary intellectual mediator and expositor between them. Nor will he be disappointed in the result. No volume in our language conveys so much and so reliable an amount of information of the intellectual interior of Germany as the book upon our table. Said a quaint German writer: "To England belongs the sea; to France the land; to Germany—the air." The true construction of this triplet is, that the German mind, hemmed by her inland position from commerce, and prohibited by despotism from politics, shoots up with extraordinary rankness into the world of thought. And great is the disease of over-thought. "That way madness lies." As a man may gaze so steadily upon a letter or a coin, that it will at length seem to move and crawl out of shape under his eye, so one may gaze so fixedly upon his own mental conceptions, that they shall put out abnormal limbs and grow into monster. "May God forgive Columbus for discovering America," is said to have been the ejaculation of a German Professor, over the realistic incapacity of a live young Yankee to comprehend his transcendentalism. Had it been our own case, we should have been inclined to retort the compliment of some shrewd Englishman: "Would that your German philosophy were safely landed at the bottom of the German sea."

The work is divided into three parts. The FIRST introduces us to the universities, the organization of their faculties, the nature of their professorships, and the habits of their students. We are then made specifically acquainted with the eight German Universities, with the history, peculiarities, and eminent professors of each.

Part SECOND analyzes the condition and later history of German theology and religion. The relations of Church and State, and the position of the established Churches and dissenting sects, are portrayed. A history is then given of the skeptical era, the evangelical revival, and the present status. A clear detail is given of the affairs of the Evangelical Union, the Evangelical Diet, and the Evangelical Alliance. The conclusion is, that the present omens of the future of Germany are humanly uncertain yet hopeful. The THIRD and most interesting part presents sketches of the great German divines whose names are specified in the title. These are genuinely great names. Here are men from whom not only the German but the universal Church gains great spoils of learning, intellect, faith, and piety. Happily the terrible result of German skepticism nearly passed away before the English-American mind knew much of German thought; and the shades of unacquaintance, and the smoke of battle moving off together, reveal to our view these defenders of the faith as conquerors on the field. We have the benefits of their victory without the hazards of their contest.

(30.) *"Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856. By the Author of the Thirty Years' View. Vol. VII."* (8vo, pp. 795. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) The present volume extends from 1820 to 1824.

During most of this period the downfall of the Federal party had left a general calm in our national politics. The Missouri Compromise, South American Independence, and the recognition of Greek nationality, were the most interesting topics of debate.

V.—Educational.

(31.) "*First Lessons in Botany and Vegetable Physiology*. Illustrated by over three hundred wood-engravings, from original drawings by Isaac Sprague. To which is added a copious Glossary or Dictionary of Botanical Terms, by ASA GRAY, Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University." (8vo., pp. 236. New-York: Ivison & Phinney. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co 1857.)

(32.) "*Introduction to Structural and Systematic Botany and Vegetable Physiology*, being a fifth Revised Edition of the Botanical Text-Book. Illustrated with over thirteen hundred wood-cuts. By ASA GRAY, M. D., Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University." (8vo., pp. 555. New-York: Ivison & Phinney. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1858.)

(33.) "*Manual of the Botany of the Northern United States*. Revised Edition. Including Virginia, Kentucky, and all east of the Mississippi. Arranged according to the Natural System. By ASA GRAY, Fisher Professor of Natural History in Harvard University. (The Mosses and Liverworts, by WM. S. SULLIVANTS.) With fourteen Plates, illustrating the Genera of the Cryptogamia." (8vo., pp. 739. New-York: Ivison & Phinney. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1858.)

The attention of professors and instructors in our colleges, academies, and seminaries, as well as of private amateurs of the floral science, may be particularly invited to this beautiful series of volumes. Professor Gray, with a professional enterprise, has herein laid before the American public a series of scientific works doing honor to Harvard, and to our country too, provided it finds itself sustained as a recompensing enterprise. We may add that Ivison and Phinney have done the exterior in a style worthy of the work.

The FIRST volume is simply an elementary botany, intended for the use of beginners, and for classes in the common and higher schools. Perfect scientific simplicity is here maintained, aided by plentiful illustrations for the purpose of introduction to those works in which the plants of a country, especially our own, are described. It comprises an analysis measurably complete of the structure, organs, growth, and reproduction of plants, and of their important uses in the scheme of creation. It furnishes a sufficiently complete system for the ordinary routine of education, and a suitable preparatory for the pupil whose tastes may lead him to prosecute his path to higher attainments.

The SECOND volume is a revised edition of a more extended manual, intended as a text-book for classes, higher seminaries, colleges, universities, and medical schools, in structural and physiological botany, and a convenient introduction to systematic or descriptive botany, adapted to the present condition of the science.

The THIRD volume is a revised and extended edition of a compendious

flora of the northern portion of our country, arranged according to the natural system. The southern boundary is so drawn as to include all which are not characteristically southern plants. The illustrations are abundant, in general fresh from nature, and completed apparently at a liberal outlay.

(34.) "*Ministering Children. A Tale dedicated to Childhood.*" (12mo., pp. 408. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.) It is a rare compliment which this beautiful child's book has received to have passed through some thirty editions in England, and to have been issued by three independent publishers almost simultaneously in America. We think neither of the three will be a loser by the investment. As we have previously noticed the work, from our own Sunday-school press, we need only say that the Carters have done the thing in handsome style.

(35.) "*Scripture Lessons, designed for Sunday Schools and Families. Subjects: The Bible, Six Ages, Miracles, Prophecies, Jerusalem, and Characters, by CAROLINE R. DEUEL.*" (24mo., pp. 174. Carlton & Porter. 1858.) The publication of these Lessons was suggested by the success of the authorities in teaching them to a class in the mission school at the Five Points. They are in catechetical form and aided with illustrations. The subjects are selected and treated with skill, both in regard to interest and value. There is no good Sunday school where Lessons of this grade may not be imparted by a competent teacher to good advantage. We commend this little manual to the attention of Sabbath-school teachers as a very valuable addition to their list of class-books.

VI.—Periodicals.

(36.) "*Beauty of Holiness. Devoted to the Sanctity of the Heart, the Life, and the Sabbath. Edited by Rev. Mr. & Mrs. A. M. FRENCH.*" Columbus, Ohio. May, 1858. The establishment of periodicals purely devoted to the cause of sanctity of heart and life is one of the encouraging omens of our day. Like every other consecrated thing, such a book has a sweet, quiet, tranquilizing look to it. It comes to one like the "mystic dove," a messenger of purity and peace. It seems a prophet of the day when the noise of battle, both physical and moral, shall cease; when the enemy shall be subdued; and when holiness to the Lord shall be written not only upon one or two periodicals, but upon all literature, all mind, all sublunary objects.

The "Beauty" seems to be conducted with ability, with a true spirit and a positive practical purpose. It aims less at solving the metaphysic than at aiding the development of holiness. It has an attractive corps of contributors, and, as we understand, an increasing list of subscribers.

The friends of righteousness have a special reason for aiding this periodical, from the fact that it has lost a share of its support by refusing to be silent in regard to the great organic sin of our day. What press would not the hand of sectional dictation silence? And yet, how can an advocate of consecration from *all* sin enter into compromise, tacit or express, with *one* sin. Our anti-slaveryism doubtless needs more sanctification; and most certainly our

sanctification cannot exist without a full-orbed anti-slaveryism. What affinity, indeed, have sanctity and slavery? Says Cecil: "Were David to come from the house of Bathsheba preaching of his spiritual comforts, I should despise his speech." And we are compelled in sorrow to say, when lips that would silence resistance to unrighteousness, talk to us of holiness, their words sound hollow and light. Vainly will the same teacher try to lower the moral tone of the Church in rebuking one great sin, and raise the banner of holiness upon every other ground. The "Scriptural holiness" which we are to "spread throughout the land" is not a mere meek neutrality, nor a dodging, tortuous compromise; it is like the holiness of God himself, a stern, intense, unsparing antagonism to *all* sin and to *every* sin.

VII.—Miscellaneous.

(37.) "*The New American Cyclopaedia: a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge.* Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY and CHARLES A. DANA. Vol. II. Araktschaff—Beale." (8vo., pp. 776. New-York: Appleton & Co.) The Cyclopaedia is fulfilling its promise as a national work. The articles are written with ability. The man who should undertake to read it through, as Dr. Clarke did an old encyclopedia, would not find it a very repulsive task. The present volume contains good articles on Francis Asbury, Bishop Baker, and Dr. Bangs.

(38.) "*Speech of the Rev. C. F. Deems, D.D., on the Trial of Rev. WM. A. SMITH, D.D., for Immorality, before the Virginia Conference, December, 1855.*" (8vo., pp. 168. Wilmington, N. C.: Fulton & Price. 1858.) A formidable pamphlet without the slightest attraction, external or internal, except the marked ability of the two gentlemen involved.

Of the following works we have not room for full notices.

"*Flora; or, Self-Deception, and other Tales.*" (18mo., pp. 324.)

"*The Shadow on the Hearth; or, our Father's Voice in taking away our Little Ones.* By a Bereaved Parent." (18mo., pp. 288.)

"*Passing Clouds; or, Love Conquering Evil.*" (18mo., pp. 292. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.)

The Carters have been issuing a series of fine little volumes, of which the above are specimens, both in narrative and dissertational form, expressed in elegant language, pure in sentiment, and elevated in their moral tendency.

"*The Boy Travelers in the Lands of the Czar.* By W. H. G. KINGSTON. With Numerous Illustrations." (18mo., pp. 315. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.)

"*The Brandy Drops; or, Charlie's Pledge. A Temperance Story.* By AUNT JULIA." (18mo., pp. 103. New-York: Carlton & Porter. 1858.)

"*The Happy Home.* By KIRWAN." (18mo., pp. 206. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.)

"*The Emigrant Boy and his Sister. Seven Illustrations.*" (18mo., pp. 217. New-York: Carlton & Porter. 1858.)

"*Glimpses of Jesus*; or, Christ exalted in the Affections of his People. By W. P. BALFERN." (18mo., pp. 259. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. Richmond: Wortham & Cottrel. 1858.)

"*Ursula, a Tale of Country Life*. By the Author of 'Amy Herbert,' etc. In two volumes." (12mo., pp. 311-314. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1858.)

"*Gilbert Harland*; or, Good in Everything, being the early History of a City Boy. By Mrs. BARWELL. Four Illustrations." (Square 12mo., pp. 211. New-York: Carlton & Porter, Sunday School Union. 1858.)

"*Ellinor Grey*; or, The Sunday-School Class at Trimble Hollow. By Mrs. H. C. GARDINER. Four Illustrations." (18mo., pp. 194. New-York: Carlton & Porter, Sunday School Union. 1858.)

ART. XIII.—LITERARY ITEMS.

The following new publications in England are note-worthy:

Oxford Essays for 1858.

History of Frederick II, King of Prussia, called Frederick the Great.

Poets and Poetry of Germany. Biographical and Critical Notices. By Madame De Pontes, Translator of Korner's Life and Works.

Trübner & Co., London, announce:

A Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the Earliest Accounts to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century; containing thirty-one thousand Biographical and Literary Notices, with an Index of subject-matter. By S. Austin Allibone. 1 vol., pp. 1600, royal 8vo.

Trübner's Bibliotheca, I. The Literature of the American Aboriginal Languages. By Herman E. Ludervig. With Additions and Corrections by Professor W. W. Turner. 8vo.

The following are noted in the English periodicals:

Translation of Hegel's Work on the Philosophy of History; being that philosopher's most popular and interesting work. Published by Bohn.

Macknight's Life of Burke, 2 vols.

John Garth Wilkinson is a Swedenborgian writer of no ordinary brilliancy and power. His style is somewhat of the Carlyle order, but bears marks of individuality which show that he is an independent, owing nothing to imitation. His last work is entitled Spirit Drawings; which the National Review says, "is a curious account of real phenomena with-in his own personal experience—phenom-

ena which he regards as normal, but which most people would think morbid." Wilkinson is a physician.

A prize of one hundred guineas is offered for the best essay on the causes of the decrease and apparently approaching extinction of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. It is offered by a gentleman who believes that the Friends were powerful witnesses to important truths, and who laments that while the population of Britain has doubled in fifty years, the Society of Friends has diminished in number. Adjudicators of the prize, Professors Maurice, Nichols, and Rev. E. S. Pryce.

We have received a specimen of a NEW LATIN-ENGLISH SCHOOL-LEXICON, on the basis of the Latin-German Lexicon of Dr. C. F. Ingerslev, by G. R. CROOKS, D.D., late Adjunct-Professor of Ancient Languages in Dickinson College, and A. J. Schem, A.M., Professor of Hebrew and Modern Languages. It is announced as nearly ready, in one volume, imperial octavo, consisting of nearly one thousand pages, from the press of LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia.

What worthy History of the Methodists could come from Robert Southey? is a question keenly put by the last North British Review. And yet his biography of Wesley has been the standard work by which the world outside our own pale, including even the large mass of evangelical Christians, has judged the Wesleyan Reformation. We cherish the trust that this work is to be soon supplanted by the HISTORY OF METHODISM, by Dr. STEVENS, the first volume of which will soon be put to press by CARLTON & PORTER.

Aug. 31, 1858.